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ABSTRACT

This paper examines the experience of development in the advanced developing countries in Asia from a gender perspective and draws some lessons for women in development policy in middle income countries in the Asian and Near East regions. The nature of the paper is exploratory, asking many questions on which further research and information are needed. The policy recommendations also are tentative. The data analysis is primarily from the four counties of Hong Kong, Singapore, South Korea, and Taiwan. All are in the middle or upper national income level category, in world terms. Some data also are presented for Thailand, the Philippines, Egypt, and Jordan to indicate certain inter-country differences in women's economic status. The pattern of rapid economic growth in the four most advanced developing countries (4MADC) has been linked causally to a greater extent than usually is acknowledged with women's economic participation. These economies studied have a very high proportion of women in the formal labor force in general and in the industrial work force in particular. Work force participation by women in these countries reflects the export intensity of production in the industrial sector, and the fact that worldwide, expansion of export manufacturing by developing countries has demanded and created a female workforce. This paper includes an executive summary, seven chapters, and a bibliography. (EH)

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GENESYS

Special Studies no. 3

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Lessons Learned from the Advanced Developing Countries

Susan P. Joekes

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LESSONS LEARNED FROM THE ADVANCED DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

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Prepared for:

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Bureau for Europe and the Near East

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This paper examines the experience of development in the advanced developing countries in Asia from a gender perspective and draws some lessons for WID policy in middle income countries in the Asian and Near East regions. It is essentially exploratory; it throws up as many questions on which further research and information are needed as it provides answers. The policy recommendations are correspondingly tentative.

The analysis is based primarily on data for four countries, Hong Kong, Singapore, South Korea and Taiwan. They are referred to for short by the term "four most advanced developing countries" (4MADCs). All are in the middle or upper national income level category, in world terms. According to purchasing power parity assessment of income levels per capita, Hong Kong and Singapore have per capita income higher than that of the Netherlands, Australia, Austria, and the United Kingdom, among OECD member countries; Korea and Taiwan have significantly lower income than this, but still above the levels of Greece, Brazil, Argentina, and Turkey, for instance. Some data is also assembled later in the paper for Thailand, the Philippines, Egypt and Jordan (all except Egypt falling into the middle income category), more as a way of indicating the kind of inter-country differences that obtain in women's economic status than as a rigorous comparison.

The argument of this paper is that the pattern of rapid economic growth in the 4MADCs has been causally linked to a greater extent than is usually acknowledged with women's economic participation. These economies are notable in world terms for the very high proportion of women found in the formal labour force in general and in the industrial workforce in particular. This is not coincidental. It reflects the export intensity of production in the industrial sector, and the fact that, world wide, expansion of export manufacturing by developing countries has demanded and created a female workforce. The high rates of participation of women in the 4MADCs has thus allowed the labor absorptive strategy embodied in their macro-economic policies to be pursued to the utmost. The early attention paid to female education in these countries was important in facilitating this pattern of development.

There are two main channels through which women's economic participation has contributed to the pattern of socio-economic development found in the 4MADCs. First is that women's earnings have been a factor in the relatively egalitarian distribution of income among households that obtains in these societies. This was founded on land redistribution policies introduced in Taiwan and South Korea in the early post-war period (and the virtual absence of land as a class of asset in Hong Kong and Singapore is surely not irrelevant in this context). But women's earnings have contributed subsequently to the sharing all families in the current income benefits of growth through employment. Consequently there has been a limited incidence of poverty in these societies.

The second area of benefit related to women's economic involvement, and certainly stemming from behavioral decisions made by women, has been the extraordinarily steep fall in fertility experienced in these societies. Population growth is now below replacement levels in some instances, and below the rate found in many richer countries. The fall in fertility took place in the reinforcing context of strong public family planning programs, which extended to anti-natalist fiscal and social sector policies. Public action could easily redress the low growth rate of population by relaxing some of these policies, in particular by reducing the conflict for women between employment and childbearing. The Swedish government has successfully led the way in this area, and seen a modest rise in fertility sufficient to bring population growth up to replacement level by facilitating greater

choice for women in the area of reproduction.

The picture is not entirely rosy for women in the Asian ADCs. First, does not the maintenance of "familism" imply a lack of individual social autonomy, impinging particularly on women? The literature does not bear out this concern, showing that more educated women resist certain family pressures (to bear sons, for example) quite effectively, without causing disruptions to the family unit. But the extent to which there has been a lessening of the degree of patriarchy remains an open question. Perhaps there is a more important lack of representation at the political level? Women's movements, as a socio-political force independent of governments, seem to be weak. This may indicate co-opting of women at household or social level, or authoritarian repression, as against other groups with oppositional potential (or both).

Second, a striking feature of employment in the Asian 4MADCs is the differences in the occupational distribution of the male and female workforces, and, partly by extension of this, partly as a result of outright gender discrimination, a wide earnings gap between men and women. Although women's access to employment allows the prospect of economic self-sufficiency to women, the earnings gap is an incentive to women to seek financial dependence on men. By attaching a cost to economic independence, it constrains their freedom of choice. Though the number of female headed households is low, the divorce rate seems to be increasing and with it the prospect of children becoming financially dependent on their mothers' earning capacity alone, which may have significant welfare costs. ADC governments should look with alarm to the emergence of the phenomenon of withdrawal of male support to children in some OECD countries (notably the US and the UK) as women's employment prospects have strengthened and men's control over women's fertility has lessened.

There are overwhelming reasons to pursue gender equity in wages, however, because discrimination has negative efficiency implications. It discourages full human capital investment and career commitment among women. These rapidly growing economies need continually to upgrade their skills base, particularly, in industry, in greater cognitive and administrative and managerial skills, in both of which women have high competence. And they need to make full use of their best talents, howsoever they are embodied.

Organizations in all sectors need to learn methods of retention of their female workers, by understanding their real contribution, by not penalizing them in salary terms. And governments need the more urgently to analyze the scope for public action in encouraging the labour force attachment and optimal deployment of women in whom much human capital investment has been made. Policy measures to consider are wider application and enforcement of equal wage legislation, removal of "protective" legislation for women (which increases the cost of female labour and reduces women's probability of employment), and public support for childcare via fiscal exemptions if not direct provision.

There are lessons in this for other Asian and Near Eastern countries. The crux of the matter is the need to encourage women's participation in paid employment, the only form of employment to which accrue the potentially wide social benefits (fertility reduction, poverty averting household cash income contributions, and improvements in women's status within the household). A more labour-absorptive macro-economic strategy is one basic condition for achieving improvements in women's employment status.

Another level of intervention is to look to ways of upgrading the status of the majority of women's current work opportunities, which arise in the unorganized sector. Governments and A.I.D. might encourage the formation of community/neighborhood organizations among women. These are legally incorporated entities which have proven effective (in Japan and India) in empowering women to act collectively to improve employment conditions in small workshops, as a service delivery location (for example, in work and life skills) and, in some cases, as a channel for credit to improve the productivity of women's self-employment activity in small enterprises. Moreover, they can be better than traditionally male dominated trade unions in helping women to bring pressure to bear for improvements in wages, working conditions, and facilities in the formal sector as well. They can also serve as the foundation stone for giving greater representative voice to women within the juridico-bureaucratic and political spheres and - albeit not immediately within the domain of government - make a real contribution to the process of political decentralization which must underlie moves towards democratic pluralism.

Recommendations for specific activities for U.S.A.I.D. programs, classed according to the new thrust of policy towards middle income countries, then include:

Global Economic Integration

1. Special attention to the representation of women in technical and business training programs relevant to employment in expanding export related industries and services.

2. Special attention in educational programs, especially at tertiary level, locally or for take up in the U.S., for inclusion of women among the beneficiaries.

3. Pilot programs to train women into new, technologically advanced occupations, which follow through into active placement of graduates with employers. The emergence of new occupations is a strategic window of opportunity for women, if they can enter these new job sectors before they become identified as a male preserve.

4. Encouragement to governments in policy dialogue to monitoring and improvement of women's employment in export sectors, with the objective of improving women's access and removing gender discrimination in wage and non-wage employment benefits and in promotion opportunities based on regulatory assymetries (e.g. in child allowances, leave provisions).

5. Encouragement to U.S. companies operating in advanced developing countries to acknowledge the major part women play in economic production in those countries, and to pay as much attention to the promotion of women's opportunities in their own businesses as they are required to do back in the U.S..

Democracy

1. Research is called for into the extent and the determinants of wage discrimination by sex in advanced developing countries. There is relatively little information on the degree of occupational segregation by sex in these economies, of the dynamics of wage discrimination (in aggregate or at the micro level inside firms), and of the menu of effective policies and interventions available to counteract it. Comparisons with what is known from other developing countries and developed

countries would be fruitful (see ILO, 1990, for an up-to-date evaluation).

2. U.S.A.I.D. should support local women's organizations that include in their programs efforts to improve women's conditions of employment. Such organizations should be encouraged to enter directly into discussion with local employers and also to lobby politically for policy and legislative changes. In discussions with employers, they can be a less confrontational alternative to traditional labour organizations. They may also be more effective in improving the conditions of women's lives in their totality, insofar as they can widen the issues to include amenities such as childcare and flexible working schedules which are not usually taken on board by traditional labour representatives. In their lobbying function they are indispensable to progress on the legislative front.

Given the traditional neglect of women's issues within labour organizations, and the tendency of official women's organizations to appease rather than advance women's long term interests, the promotion of local women's groups is a legitimate contribution to widening and deepening of civic debate.

3. Another area of public action where U.S.A.I.D. programs may make a useful contribution is in the promotion of the idea of accountability in public social services.

Provision of many social services in the health, education and social security fields is of special concern to women. Yet it is not common to conceive of women as the consumer constituency for these services (as opposed to passive recipients of services provided exclusively for them, e.g. MCH programs). There is a great deal of scope for, first, screening all public social sector services for their impact on and utility for women; and also for developing ways of exposing public service officials to accountability to women as users. The promotion of local women's groups, as above, would be instrumental in this connection.

4. Facilitating reproductive choice is another area of vital concern to women's life choices. The below-replacement rate of population growth in some countries, a cause for government concern, reflects the fact that women may have been squeezed too far and the economic and practical disincentives to childrearing have become too severe. The Swedish experience shows that reversal of the public policy measures that brought the situation about can easily encourage increases in fertility again. Improving maternity leave provisions and allowances, child care provision, etc., quickly led in that case to recovery of population growth to replacement levels. The time has come to investigate the application of such measures in some middle income countries too.

Poverty

1. U.S.A.I.D. programs should introduce onto the policy dialogue agenda special attention to the justification for and formulation of a gender aware system of old age social security provision. The high budgetary cost of pensions schemes is brought into better perspective when the fertility reducing impact of such schemes and (and in the 4MADCs) the social sector costs of alternative forms of shelter for the elderly are properly taken into account.

2. In this connection, the prospects for income earning among women towards the end of their working lives should be monitored. Changes in economic policy affecting agriculture, the sector where remaining employment for older women is presently concentrated, should be checked for their

effect on labor use. Regulatory changes may helpfully be introduced, for example, encouraging part time working, which would open up opportunities for older workers on reasonable terms in unskilled jobs in the service sector, including the public social services.

3. In the 4MADCs and other advanced developing countries with similar social systems, there is a strong case for monitoring the situation of older cohorts of women, specifically by checking that "familism" continues to provide as good a mechanism of inter-generational transfer of income as it has in the past. Modifications might be made to the fiscal system to reinforce incentives for younger people to continue to shelter elderly relatives.

4. With regard to female headed households, there is a real need for social supports (childcare, etc) to ensure that sole mothers' earnings and career progression are not impeded by the particularly severe mobility and time constraints imposed on them by the task of caring for children. Modifications in the fiscal system may be necessary to ensure that there is no gender bias against women in the granting of tax exemptions for dependents. Integrated systems of public collection of statutory child support payments from men are being developed in some countries, e.g. Australia, and these might also have a place. Finally, the case for developing a "child income" element in the social security system should be explored, with payments made normally to the mother. All these various aspects would be far developed introduced at an early, preventive stage in advanced developing countries, to cope with present pockets of poverty and to ensure that they do not grow unmanageably in future.

1. INTRODUCTION

This paper explores the position of women in the advanced developing countries of Asia and the Near East and draws conclusions to assist A.I.D.'s Women In Development (WID) strategy in those regions. The argument falls into three parts. The paper first the paper assesses the contributions women have made toward the successful development of advanced developing countries (ADCs). Second, it examines the level and nature of the benefits women have reaped in the process; and third, it considers the disadvantages women still suffer in some of those countries.

The underlying evaluative criterion is a concept of women's "life choices". This denotes the opportunities open to individual women for achieving good health and nutritional status, income generating capacity, property ownership, citizenship and political representation. It also encompasses the discretion they have over their own spatial mobility, marriage and household formation, and reproductive behavior. The analysis is a two stage one for different groups of countries in Asia and the Near East. The first group comprises the four developed countries in East Asia which have grown most rapidly (Taiwan, South Korea, Hong Kong and Singapore). The analysis of these countries (referred to as the 4AMDCs for short) takes up the bulk of the paper. Among these, the most comprehensive data is available for Taiwan. The second stage of the analysis attempts to consider women's position in comparative terms in a pair of "second tier" newly industrializing countries, Thailand and the Philippines, and in two countries of the Near East region, Egypt and Jordan; all of these countries are of considerable importance to US aid and foreign policy. The last pair of countries may be thought to fall into the middle ranks of Arab countries as far as WID matters are concerned, not having had governments in the recent past strongly promoting either egalitarian or culturally conservative social policies. Within each pair of countries, there is quite a wide divergence of level of national income; both Thailand and Jordan are counted in the "advanced developing country" category.

Schultz (1989b, and also Joekes, 1987) suggests that global patterns indicate that women's welfare is a "normal good," such that as income rises, demand for improved women's welfare will rise also. How far do the various countries conform to this pattern? The data on gender differentials in the basic human welfare indicators (health and nutritional status, and life expectancy) are examined, as well as the character of educational provision at different levels. As part of a relativistic

assessment of social sector provision by gender, however, the paper considers matters of "quality" as well as simple levels of provision.

The other major dimension of individuals' economic functioning is their income earning capacity, in paid employment or self-employment. Women's income earning capacity is more than a mere indicator of functioning, however. It is a phenomenon of potentially much wider social significance. Both theory and empirical evidence suggest that women's access to cash is a necessary if not sufficient condition for improvements in women's position. Those improvements have been hypothesized and observed to take place at the household level, in terms of relations with and "bargaining" position vis a vis other household members. What evidence is there on this matter for the East Asian countries in question?

The changes in women's status may or may not stop at the boundaries of the household. The paper attempts also to extend the analysis to consider whether and in what ways women are simultaneously achieving some degree of emancipation in the wider socio-economic sphere (neither theory nor data are such as to allow any causality to be established). What changes, if any, have been made in women's legal rights to property - and their ability to realize new claims - and to their political representation? How do changes in demographic indicators relate to changes in women's status, either as cause or consequence?

Another set of factors concerns the distinction between "economic independence" (or self-sufficiency) for women and "economic equality". Again information on this matter is to be derived from data on employment. (This explains why examination of employment plays a large part in the argument of this paper.) Similarly to analysis of social sector provision, it concerns the "quality" (sectoral, occupational and grade distribution of jobs by gender) as opposed to the "level" (participation rates) of employment opportunities open to women. There are peculiar ramifications in the social sphere of any gender differentiation in the "quality" of employment. Any inequality serves as a brake on the emancipation of women by inducing them to accept, even to seek out, some degree of economic dependence on men in order to maximize their material benefits within a given society.

Having assessed the position of women in these various dimensions, as far as available data

allow, the concluding section of this paper suggests the policy implications for other countries in the Asia and Near East regions. The lessons that might be learned for WID policy from the 4MADCs are set out in the following areas: (1) education ; (2) trade regimes and export incentives; (3) employment related measures; and (4) social security provision.

2. THE BASIS OF RAPID GROWTH IN THE 4MADCs

There has been much debate over the causes of the extraordinary economic success of the four most rapidly industrialized and now most advanced developing countries (4MADCs) in East Asia: South Korea, Taiwan (R.O.C.), Singapore and Hong Kong. Their success initially was ascribed to the pure free market policies which held ideological sway in the early to mid 1980s. These policies were influential in the donor community, particularly in the U.S. and U.K., and within the international financial institutions as development professionals and bankers sought new approaches to the problems plaguing developing countries. Currently, however, it is generally recognized that there are a number of factors underlying the success of the 4MADCs.

2.1 Macro-economic Policies

The macro-economic policies followed by the 4MADCs ensured strict neutrality in incentives for producing for export as opposed to domestic markets and promoted market determination of the exchange rate. By maintaining high interest rates, these policies encouraged both high domestic savings and the use of labor intensive methods of production. However, two other facts must be taken into account prior to drawing out any lessons with regard to macro policies. First, market determination of prices and resource allocation did not extend to the capital market. The government administered an institutional substructure which carefully controlled the allocation of financial capital. Second, import liberalization was much less than complete, with the composition of imports subject to strict controls. In particular, the import of luxury consumer goods was tightly restricted (Wade, 1990). It is worthwhile noting that the two largest 4MADCs, Taiwan and South Korea, which were among the first to abandon an import substitution development strategy, did not adopt a straightforward "laissez faire" program. Their new strategy was far removed from the concept of a pure free market. 2.2 Initial Conditions

2.2. Initial Conditions

The role of "initial conditions" is recognized as extremely important in these countries. All four had poor natural resource endowments and high population density on cultivable land, Hong Kong and Singapore representing extreme cases of land shortage. In this section, the initial conditions in

the 4MADCs were favorable to sustained and broad based development, an identified, physical infrastructure, land distribution and spatial concentration of population. The lack of natural physical resources encouraged policy makers to make the most of their only real asset, human resources. Education and health provision are discussed below in sections 4.1 and 4.1.3.

First, in both the larger countries (South Korea and Taiwan), there was relatively good infrastructure built up by the Japanese during their period of colonial occupation. Taiwan, in particular, was treated as a "model colony," receiving large investments in the provision of physical infrastructure and health services etc. in rural areas. Thereafter, the large injections of U.S. development assistance to Taiwan and South Korea following the second world war facilitated continued infrastructural investment at high levels. In Taiwan, these inflows ended around 1962, but by that time, the macroeconomic foundations were already laid to encourage domestic savings: the savings rate doubled from 8 percent in 1962 to 16 percent in 1964 (Hsiang, 1986). Similar increases in the savings rate were seen in South Korea during the 1960s in the proportion of gross domestic investment financed out of local savings rose from 29 percent during 1955-60 up to 60 percent during 1960-70 (Mukherjee, 1986).

Secondly, and most significantly as regards the population welfare benefits, in Taiwan and South Korea the distribution of land was relatively equal at the start of the economic take-off. In Taiwan this was the result of a land reform program undertaken by the Nationalist government in the 1950s. In Korea, it was the result of (1) compulsory acquisition of land owned by Japanese landlords after independence in 1945; and (2) at the insistence of the U.S., the imposition of a three hectare ceiling on holdings in the wake of the Korean war to offset the egalitarian rhetoric coming from communist-held north Korea (Mukhrejee, 1986). The redistribution of land underwrote a subsequent pattern of relatively egalitarian inter-household distribution of income in both countries, both overall and between urban and rural populations. The positive spin-offs for development of relatively good income distribution will appear as a pervasive theme of this paper, referring mainly but not only to the human resource dimension. Both Korea and Taiwan also benefitted from an early policy emphasis on agriculture. In Korea, for example, farm household income rose by 25 percent annually in current prices between 1967 and 1981, compared to a 15 percent increase in urban wage earners' family income (Mukherjee, 1986). Despite the subsequent phenomenal success of the manufacturing industry, development in these countries was not built on any bias against agriculture or against the

rural population.

In Taiwan, and to a lesser extent, Korea, a third factor came into play: the spatial concentration of population, which allowed rural household income to be diversified outside agriculture. The pattern of sectorally dispersed rural family labor allocation supplemented the relatively equal distribution of land and further contributed to the stability and relative equality of inter-household income distribution. The inter-household distribution of income in Taiwan became significantly more equal over the period 1950-80, at the same time as the agricultural peasantry vanished as a distinct social class (Greenhalgh, 1983). (Moreover, much of the residual inequality in inter-household income is not attributable to socio-economic stratification but based on lifecycle factors, amounting in one case study to 20-53 percent compared to 13- 31 percent due to class differentiation (Greenhalgh, 1983)). By 1980, more than 60 percent of total rural household income in Taiwan came from rural non-agricultural activities, including rural small scale industry and urban employment. Households sent family members to jobs in the towns and cities, with many of the workers commuting daily or weekly, remitting money as appropriate, and typically retaining close links with their family in the place of origin. The strength of the agricultural sector and relatively equal distribution of personal incomes in rural areas were also important reinforcing influences -by way of consumer demand - on the growth and dispersion of rural industry (Bagachwa and Stewart, 1990). The spatial concentration of population also clearly facilitated labor market flexibility. The rapid growth of personal incomes among all classes has put most households in to a position to accumulate personal savings. This has probably mitigated pressures that might otherwise have existed for expansion of a state-financed social welfare system, particularly as regards pension support for the elderly (and issue to which we return below).

3. WOMEN'S CONTRIBUTIONS TO DEVELOPMENT IN THE 4MADCs

Women have contributed substantially to the viability of the pattern of development experienced in all four main 4MADCs in East Asia. The most commonly noted feature is women's supply of wage labor for industrial production for the export market. The predominance of women in the industrial labor force is so marked, comparatively speaking, that it deserves to be considered as a contributory factor in economic success. By extension, women have played an important part in the creation of the relatively equal pattern of inter-household income distribution - this deserves specific attention. Finally, women's behavioral choices have resulted in extremely rapid fertility decline and the concomitant low dependency ratios which these countries have experienced in the recent period.

3.1 Women's Participation in the Labor Force

The rate of female participation in the formal labor force has risen more rapidly in the East Asian 4MADCs than in many other developing countries. Average recorded levels of female participation now approach the 40 percent gross activity rate common in the largest OECD economies. Among women aged 15 years and above the recorded participation rate for countries for which comparative data is available, as analyzed by Schultz (1989a), is higher among six East Asian countries (not including Taiwan) than in OECD countries in total: 45 per cent compared to 38 per cent in the OECD countries (see table I). Correspondingly, women account for a high share of the total recorded labor force: 37 percent in East Asia in 1980 compared to 36 percent in the highest income OECD countries (Schultz, 1989a).

The mobilization of female labor has allowed East Asia to pursue a development strategy heavily geared towards labor absorption. Galenson discusses the issue as follows (1979, cited in Farris 1986):

> The pattern of industrialization followed by Taiwan would not have been possible without the deployment of its female labor force. The net increase of young women working in manufacturing in the decade 1965 to 1975 facilitated the rise of much of the new export-oriented industry that is associated with the nation's development....The flow of relatively cheap labor that attracted foreign investors to Taiwan would have come to an end much sooner had women decided to remain at home.

Between 1965 and 1975, women's participation in the industrial labor force in Taiwan rose from 17 percent to 37 percent. The pattern of industrial growth, with its exceptionally high export propensity, absorbed a particularly high share of female labor. In East Asia, women accounted for 44 percent of the labor force in manufacturing compared to 28 percent for all countries and 30 percent for high income countries (Schultz, 1989a). Among wage employees in the sector, women accounted for 37 per cent of the total in East Asia, compared to 30 per cent in OECD countries (see table). The percentage was even higher in other ADCs in East Asia. The share of women among manufacturing employees was 50 percent in Hong Kong, 42 percent in Korea and 49 percent in Singapore in the late 1980s (Standing, 1989). The high incidence of women in the manufacturing labor force is due to the relatively large share of exporting enterprises within the total: the proportion of women workers in such enterprises is typically 75-80 percent. Worldwide, the only other countries where the overall share of women workers in manufacturing is as high (or higher) than in East Asia are small countries such as Tunisia, Mauritius, and the Dominican Republic. The common factor in these cases is that industrial capacity is relatively new and heavily dominated by export oriented assembly type production.

As noted, the percentage of females in the total labor force is almost identical in the East Asian and OECD countries. Nonetheless, the concentration of women in manufacturing in East Asia indicates that the sectoral distribution of the female labor force is strikingly different. Not only are women employed in greater numbers in manufacturing in East Asia, but they are prominent in agriculture as well. Women supply 40 percent of the total waged labor in East Asian agriculture, compared to 19 percent in higher income countries (Schultz, 1989b). The differential between the two country groups is less pronounced in terms of total labor input, whereby unpaid family labor is included as well as wage labor.

With regard to the services sector in the East Asian countries, female labor is much less prominent than in the high income countries. Women represent 36 percent of the services sector labor force in East Asia compared to 52 percent in the high income countries (op cit).

Table 1

Female participation rate and share of women in the labor force and among wage workers, by country category, 1980 (1).

Countries	High income (OECD)	Latin America	North Africa	East Asia (3)	South and West Asia
Participation rate (2)	.377	.247	.124	.452	.328
Share of Women:					
in labor force	.36	.24	.14	.37	.25
among wage earners	.32	.27	.09	.34	.25
among wage earners in manufacturing	.297	.227	.071	.372	.124

Source: Schultz (1989b) (World Bank WP272) Tables 1.2.3.

Notes: (1) 1980 or close year. (2) among females aged 15+. (3) Hong Kong, South Korea, Indonesia, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand.

3.2 Conditions for the Growth of Export Industry and the Specificity of Demand for Female Labor

The establishment and growth of export industry in the 4MADCs would not have occurred without a number of factors contributing to their international competitiveness. The regulatory environment and the locally available productive resources both facilitated the 4MADCs' entry into and success in the export industry. Additionally, the specific availability of female labor as a productive resource was an indispensable element.

3.2.1 The Trade and Regulatory Regime

At the global level, countries which have seen the establishment and growth of export manufacturing capacity overwhelmingly have been characterized by (1) the existence of favorable local exchange rate, trade and regulatory regimes; (2) good infrastructural facilities; and, where foreign capital is involved, (3) investors' assessment that the local political system was "stable." Countries which did not meet these "micro-regulatory environment" conditions did not succeed in establishing export industry, either generally or in free trade zone settings, however attractive the straightforward production cost considerations may have been (see Morawetz's study of the demise of the clothing industry in Colombia (1980)).

Within the set of countries where an export capacity was developed in manufacturing, considerable variations have existed in the crude availability of labor, the educational level and work experience of the labor force and the absolute level of wages (male or female). To the extent that such variation exists, it cannot be said that any one of these factors has been critical to the establishment and performance of export industry. On the other hand, the use of female labor is a constant feature.

3.2.2 Crude Availability of Labor

Surplus labor, as indicated by levels of open unemployment, is widespread though not universal in the developing world. Paradoxically, among the East Asian countries most noted for the growth of their export industry, have been those with the lowest rates of recorded unemployment.

In all countries where export manufacturing has been established, it has relied heavily on a female work force. It either created a totally new industrial labor force by recruiting women into the sector entering wage employment for the first time, or drew on women with some working experience away from other positions, for example, as family workers in a small scale industry. Thus, in some cases, this mobilization was reflected in increases in the total female labor force participation rate: for example, in South Korea, it rose from 29 percent in 1960 to 40 percent in 1980 (Sivard, 1985). In other instances, there was a rise in the proportion of women working as paid employees: for example, the share of wage workers in the total female labor force rose from 62 percent to 93 percent in Hong Kong between 1958 and 1981 (Schultz 1989b). [More pointedly, the same figures for Thailand rose from 2 percent to 17 percent between 1954 and 1980 (op cit), while total recorded female labor force participation actually fell from 84 to 73 percent between 1960 and 1980 (Sivard, 1985)].

In both these countries and others where labor is heavily in surplus, such as the Dominican Republic, Morocco, Bangladesh, Tunisia and Indonesia, women have proven extremely responsive to new waged job opportunities. Even though several of these countries are Muslim, women have been able to actively participate in industrial employment as operatives. For example, in Morocco prospective foreign employers have incorrectly assumed that employment of either a female or a mixed sex workforce is impossible, and they have been proven wrong (Joekes, 1982). A recent survey of workers' and employers' attitudes in six countries in the Middle East and North Africa confirms that religious doctrines and beliefs are not an obstacle to women's employment at this level (Birks, Papps and Sinclair, 1991). In deference to local customs, recruitment of young women for export factory work in Tunisia and Indonesia is sometimes done by consulting their fathers or the village headmen (see e.g. Baud, 1977), but working conditions inside the factories are the same as in other countries.

3.2.3 The Educational Level of the Labor Force

The developmental need for a well educated workforce is another issue open to misinterpretation in respect of the establishment of export manufacturing capacity. In the relatively high-income ADC category, high average levels of education in a population are currently probably an important correlate to overall growth, contributing specifically to the efficacy of administrative

machinery and the presence of a strong managerial cadre. High levels of education also help create critical masses of scientific and technical personnel for the construction, operation and maintenance of capital equipment and for strong programs of technological development. At low levels of national income, attainment of good, basic education is strongly associated with improved levels of agricultural productivity and child health and nutritional status and universal primary education is an important goal of policy for this reason.

It is not clear, however, for countries with intermediate levels of national income that the availability of educated workers has had much influence on the establishment of export oriented manufacturing. The evidence for this statement is two fold. First, the extremely low levels of education among the population in general, and women in particular, has not prevented the emergence of export manufacturing in countries such as Haiti and Bangladesh. Second, the educational level of the actual workforce engaged in this sector varies significantly between countries, which suggests that there may be no inherent requirement for any particular level of educational attainment for satisfactory job performance. This is certainly confirmed by case studies for the clothing industry, the usual beginner industry. However, the electronics industry, by contrast, usually imposes some minimal educational requirement as a condition of recruitment, typically graduation from primary school (Joekes, 1982).

Moreover, the educational level of the export sector workforce seems <u>not</u> to be correlated with the general level of educational attainment in the national labor force in the countries concerned. Thus, the educational level of the export manufacturing workforce in the Asia and Near East regions is not higher than it is in export-oriented industry in most other countries: success in exporting cannot be attributed to human resource availabilities in this simple sense.

The educational level of the sectoral workforce is predominantly a function of the tightness of the local labor market (Lim 1990) and, as far as women are concerned, of the level of manufacturing wages relative to those in other sectors. The greater the shortage of jobs and the higher the relative wage offered by a particular industry, the larger the recruitment pool employers are faced with. In these circumstances, employers will tend to use educational attainment as a screening device to indicate several characteristics (e.g. intelligence, docility, exposure to discipline), although not as a direct proxy for prospective individual competence on the job.

3.2.4 Absolute Wage Levels

Comparative data is lacking on wage rates in the 4MADCs. However, historically wage levels in developing countries have been significantly below the levels obtaining in the OECD. A similar gap exists between OECD wages and those in the countries most recently entered into the export market for manufactured goods. But it is undoubtedly the case that absolute wage costs are now relatively high in the four 4MADCs. The high rate of growth of manufactured exports, and within the total, clothing, the most labor-intensive product category, has continued unabated in countries with relatively high wages, such as South Korea. Conversely, countries with relatively low wages, such as Colombia and Haiti, have not seen their export industry flourish.

Relative labor costs may go some way to explaining changes in the product composition of manufactured exports by country. Some of the expansion in the more labor intensive parts of industrial production in "second tier" industrializing countries in the more labor-intensive of export-oriented industry in East Asia and Latin America reflects the deterrent effect of high wages in the first four 4MADCs. Some mass production of simpler, technologically mature, labor intensive products has been relocated to lower wage sites, while the composition of manufactured exports from the ADCs has shifted towards more advanced, innovative products. This process of secondary relocation involves both OECD investment (mainly Japanese) and ADC activity (Korean and Taiwanean investment) both to poorer countries in the Asian region and, for example, in the Caribbean. Nevertheless, even in these cases, other factors such as market access are clearly involved. As ACD countries run up against import restrictions in OECD markets under the Multifibre Arrangement and other trade regulations, they establish production capacity in other countries to take advantage of national quotas allocated to them which are currently unfilled.

In the literature on wage costs, considerable weight is given to the fact that women's labor is the cheapest available labor. Undoubtedly wage discrimination by gender exists in many developing countries; clear evidence for it comes both from national data sets (e.g. Gannicott, 1986, for Taiwan) and from numerous case studies when it is possible for a controlled comparison to be made (see Dixon-Muller and Anker, 1988 and Anker and Hein, 1986, for summaries for the evidence). Within individual countries, therefore, employing women presents an employer with considerable cost savings. The pattern of sex segregation of occupations within countries, including industrial countries, can

largely be explained in terms of labor cost. Producers of labor intensive products have the strongest interest to minimize their wage bill. The products which typically have greatest weight in the portfolio of manufactured exports in developing countries (clothing, electronics good assembly, etc) also use the most labor intensive methods and tend to employ female workers in industrial as well as developing countries.

Nonetheless, the prevalence of female workers in export-oriented industry in the 4MADCs cannot be explained primarily on the basis of a straightforward "cheapest labor source" argument. The discount on the wage bill obtained by employing women rather than men is small compared to the differences in absolute wage levels among different developing countries.

3.2.5 The Characteristics of Female Labor

Research suggests that other characteristics are more important in determining the relative cost effectiveness of a female labor force. Employers appear to have a universal preference for female labor in those light industries with a high export propensity, whether traditional, notably garments, or innovative, notably the labor intensive stages of electronics production. Since these industries have had considerable weight in the export basket of the East Asian 4MADCs, it is appropriate to note that in no country in the world have these industries been developed with a male labor force, even in situations of high unemployment among men. Even in countries with high rates of male unemployment and no tradition of women in urban wage employment at all, as in Tunisia and Bangladesh, an export manufacturing capacity in electronics or garments has been rapidly developed in recent years based on the large scale mobilization of women into the labor market. Elsewhere, it has been shown that preexisting industries, such as clothing, changed the sex composition of their labor force towards women as they began to sell on foreign markets (Joekes, 1982 for Morocco). The universality of this phenomenon seems to be explained by women's superior productivity as a function of their social characteristics. Women's "cheap labor" as noted by Galenson, cited above, is not the whole story.

The most important of women's social characteristics is their deference to command (Humphrey, 1987; Elson and Pearson, 1981). This deference is not absolute. Some case studies (e.g., UN/ESCAP, 1987, on Korean women workers) even indicate that within plants with majority female

workforces, women are more predisposed than men to protest poor working conditions and unfair treatment. But in general, women's social subordination makes them particularly well qualified to make up an amenable, productive labor force, prepared to follow the strict demands of machine paced, assembly line mass production entailing ceaseless repetition of finely defined tasks which require sustained skill and care in execution. Consistent with this interpretation, some accounts refer to employers' belief that women are "better" workers, in the sense of being more careful and exact than men, with a higher proportion of their work passing quality controls. The fact that employers do not have to pay a premium to obtain this preferred labor, but rather can reduce their wage bill, consolidates the greater cost effectiveness of employing female workers.

A small minority of male workers is routinely included in the workforce in the factories (mainly but not exclusively in supervisory positions). One interpretation of this phenomenon is that it is done in order to reinforce social stratification associated with gender. It establishes internal structures within the firm to "remind" women of their prescribed role of subordination to command under the system of social relations of gender, which has clear application to industrial production organization (Humphrey, 1987; Joekes, 1982; Anker and Hein, 1985).

3.3 Inter-household Distribution of Income

Another contribution women make to development is that their employment in East Asia has helped to improve the inter-household distribution of income. Women have either added their earnings to the household pool directly, in cases where they still reside with the natal family, or they have made remittances to their rural natal household, having moved to an urban area to take up employment.

Few empirical studies have been undertaken to measure the impact of female labor force participation on inter-household distribution of income. In view of the high valuation set on the East Asian countries' achievement of relatively egalitarian distribution of income in conjunction with rapid growth, as evidence of the superior welfare as well as allocative properties of open market economies, it is an issue which deserves further research. The quantitative importance of total remittances in rural household incomes is clear from national level data (Wiltgen, 1990). Many cases studies of young women workers in Taiwan and Korea give evidence of the substantial monetary value of the

income transfers which women workers make (references).

Most national income statistics fail to include income imputed from household work. Therefore there is an element of misestimation in the calculation of distribution of national income. The degrees of this misestimation vary on this account as it is dependent upon the extent to which women transfer into wage employment out of agricultural labor. This raises the interesting question of the extent to which the relative equality of income distribution in 4MADCs may itself be spurious; it may be reflecting the relatively high recorded female labor force participation rates rather than genuine differences in household welfare.

Even so, increases in female labor force participation (as conventionally measured) do authentically reflect some increment to income (in the sense of aggregate welfare), and an associated increase in the relative incomes of households with above average increases in incomes earned by women. This is because a woman's substitution of paid for unpaid work represents a welfare preference for paid work, in either her own or her household's evaluation or both. For the sake of argument, let us assume that the dimension in which this evaluation is made is in fact income. The high incidence of remittances by young unmarried women out of earnings indicates either that the decision for her to take up paid employment is taken in the collective interest of the household or that, if it is an individual decision, the worker concerned feels obligated to compensate her natal household. In either event therefore, even if the exact quantitative significance of the contribution women have made through their high level of involvement in the formal labor force remains elusive, we can say definitively that they have made some positive net contribution to household incomes and therefore to inter-household income distribution.

3.4 Fertility Decline

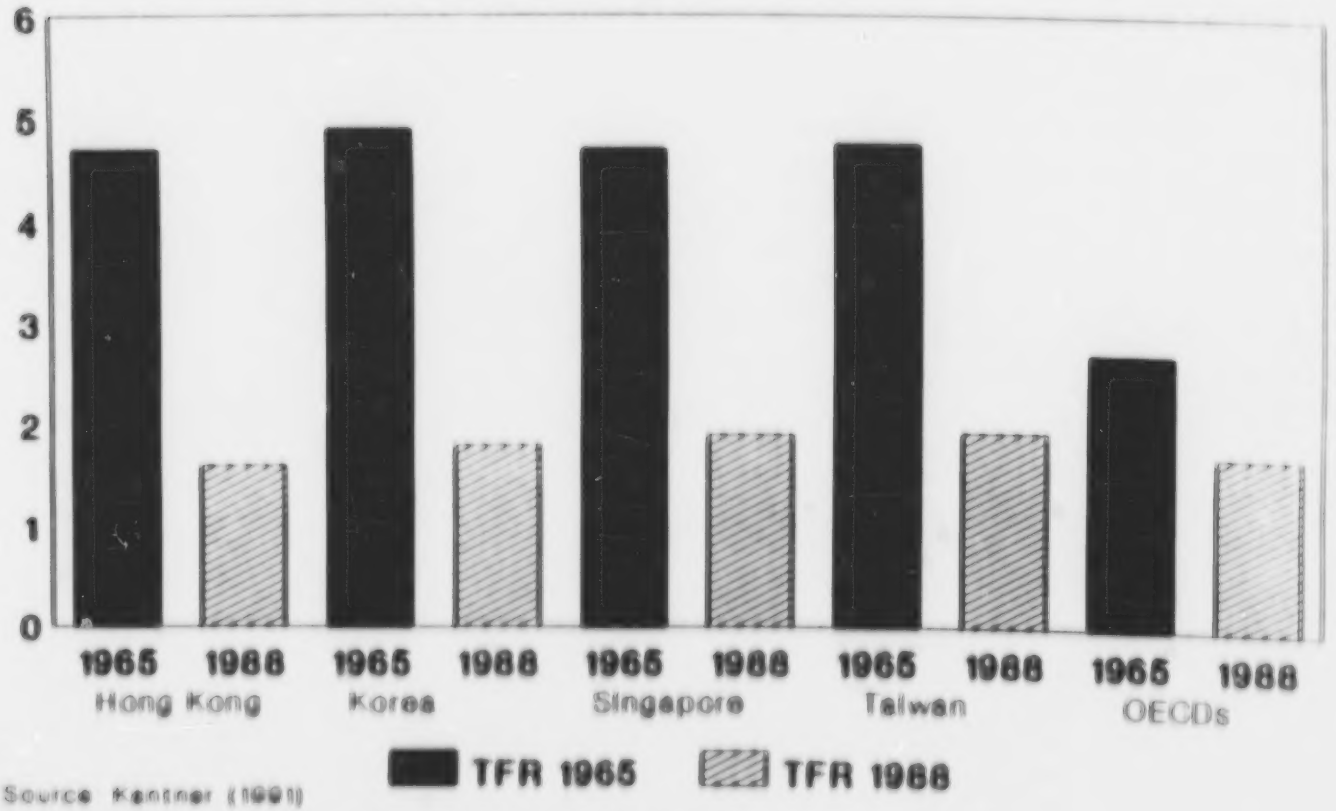
Fertility decline has been extremely rapid in the 4MADCs. In demographic terms they are certainly considered developed countries. Between 1965 and 1987 the total fertility rate fell from 4.9 to 2.1 in South Korea, 4.7 to 1.7 in Singapore, and 4.7 to 1.8 in Hong Kong, (World Development Report, 1989, see Figure 1). Estimates for Taiwan present a similar picture: from 4.8 in 1965 to 1.75 in 1987 (Poston, 1988). The net reproduction rate in Taiwan fell from 2.8 in 1956 to 0.8 in 1986. All these countries have attained levels of fertility and reproduction among the lowest in the world.

'Reductions ... of this magnitude are astounding, and are among the most rapid declines in the demographic history of the world" (op cit).

Correspondingly, the dependency ration in these countries is also relatively low. Population growth is in several countries now below replacement level, i.e. total population is declining. The main immediate benefit has been in terms of public expenditure requirements there: improvements were possible in the scope and quality of human resource development services (notably education). ADCs have not been faced with the need for running to stay still, i.e. with the need over time to increase expenditure proportional to GNP to maintain constant levels of provision to a growing young population, i.e. the ratio of those below and above working age to those of working age in the population is comparatively low. Implications of the demographic transition are discussed below.

Figure 1

Total Fertility Rate (TFR)*
1965 and 1988



Source Kantner (1991)

*Number of children the average women would bear in a lifetime at the current fertility of the time

4. BENEFITS ENJOYED BY WOMEN IN 4MADCs

A recent World Bank paper describes the national economic benefits that follow from gender-focused human resource development policies (Schultz, 1989b). Might the 4MADCs economic success have resulted in part from high levels of investment in the human capital of women at any early state? Of course, improvements in health and nutrition among children and among the population in general and improvements in female educational levels, also bring direct and indirect benefits to women themselves. What is women's current position in welfare and non-material terms?

4.1 The History of Material Provision for Women

4.1.1 Education

The available data indicates that ADC governments have indeed for some time past devoted comparatively large resources to education. Even in the mid 1960s, the 4MADCs performed averagely well in educational provision for girls relative to other countries in the same national income class . In 1965, of the appropriate age groups, 93 percent of girls were enrolled in primary education and 24 percent were in secondary education in upper middle income countries. In both South Korea and Hong Kong, the figures were 99 and 25 percent respectively. Singapore did significantly better at the higher level, with enrolments at 41 percent (and 100 per cent at primary level) (World Bank, 1989).

Over the next twenty years, the enrolment rates for girls in upper middle income countries rose to 101 percent for primary school and 67 percent for secondary y 1986. The 4MADCs also attained universal primary education for girls. But they significantly outperformed the average at secondary level. Secondary enrolment rates among girls in 1986 were 93 percent in South Korea, 72 percent in Hong Kong and 73 percent in Singapore (op cit). In fact, by the 1980s, both Hong Kong and Singapore had changed categories and moved up into the "high income" country group. There is considerable polarity within that group in terms of girls' secondary schooling. The OECD countries are at one end of the spectrum (with enrollment of 94 percent) and the Middle Eastern oil exporters at the other; Hong Kong and Singapore fall in between. It is notable that South Korea (with per capita GNP of $2,700 compared to Hong Kong and Singapore's $8,000 in 1987) has, in respect of

secondary schooling, not only far surpassed Hong Kong and Singapore but has virtually reached the OECD level (World Bank, 1989).

In terms of relative enrolment rates for sex, in Hong Kong and Singapore more girls are now enrolled in secondary education than boys. South Korea, however, which has a higher overall enrollment rate in secondary school, has more boys enrolled than girls at this level (98 versus 93 percent) (World Development Report, 1989). Comparable data is not available for Taiwan, though clearly the level of educational provision there has risen rapidly and there has been significant convergence in attainment by sex. In 1951, the average number of years of schooling was 3.9 years for men and 1.4 years for women; by 1983, the figures had risen to 8.9 years for men and 7.4 years for women. Among the most recent graduates, the differences have all but disappeared (Chiang, 1989).

The 4MADCs had thus achieved universal primary education by the mid 1960s, and since then expansion has continued with remarkable success into secondary level. Disparities by sex have virtually been eliminated. At the college level, the situation is less clear because of deficiencies in the data. But it seems to be the case that ADC governments have eschewed putting resources on a large scale into the creation of tertiary education. The pattern on the whole suggests that the 4MADCs have not taken the path followed by many other developing countries of allowing the emergence of a "top heavy" pattern of educational expenditure with relatively little provision of education at the secondary level.

It is therefore only at the highest educational level that the 4MADCs lag behind OECD countries in educational provision.

Total tertiary enrolment rates in OECD countries were 21 percent in 1965 and 39 percent in 1986 (heavily weighted by the high levels in the U.S. and Canada). World Development Report (WDR) data for Singapore, although not sex disaggregated for tertiary education, gives a total enrollment rate of 13 percent. However, the data from different sources are inconsistent in this area. The WDR lists total enrollments in South Korea at 33 percent in 1986, which is clearly incompatible with the Sivard data cited earlier. Unfortunately, not enough definitional detail is given to know whether the differences are due to coverage, for example, exclusion/inclusion of vocational education,

or to other factors.

Although the rate of increase of female enrollment has risen faster than among males, tertiary educational provision in the 4MADCs remains strongly differentiated by sex and the 4MADCs have not performed better than middle income countries in reducing disparities by sex at this level. Thus, in South Korea, while female enrollment in tertiary education has risen from 2 percent in 1960 to 9 percent in 1986, male enrollment rose from 7 percent to 23 percent (Sivard, 1985), and in Taiwan, the rates have risen from 0.4 percent in 1951 to 8 percent in 1983 among women, compared to 2 percent to 13 percent among men (Chiang, 1989).

It has also been observed that the quality or content of education in terms of the subject majors pursued at secondary school and college is more strongly differentiated by sex in developing than in developed countries, (Sivard, 1985). In the 4MADCs, Chiang (1986) notes the heavy concentration of women in arts, humanities and other "non-technical" subjects in Taiwan, consistent with the very marked disparity in the occupational distribution of the male and female labour forces remarked on by Gannicott (1986).

4.1.2 Labor Market Conditions

We have suggested above that one benefit for women that might have followed as a consequence of improvements in educational levels seems not to have materialized. The development strategy followed in the 4MADCs, involving the mass mobilization of women into industry, did not in fact require high educational attainments by the workforce in that sector. Export industries currently employ women who are (1) less educated than average women in the labor force as a whole and (2) less educated than women holding identical jobs in some lower income countries.

How is this to be interpreted? Does it mean that despite women's better general access to the labor market in ADCs, the particular development path has not created good jobs for women within the labor market in terms of wages, job grades and occupational segregation? Or does it mean that growth and continuing high rates of labor absorption have subsequently generated other, better employment opportunities for women than work in export oriented factories?

Given the present lack of historical data, a definitive answer is not possible. Both scenarios are feasible, and both appear to hold part of the answer. In particular, it may be that the educational profile of the export industry workforce has declined over time, relative to all women of working age in the population. Originally such employment may have presented a prime, attractive opportunity for girls newly educated to secondary level, while today it offers relatively poor jobs which only less educated women -- though maybe with the same absolute level of attainment as before -- are prepared to accept.

The recent growth of the 4MADCs has indeed generated higher level employment, to which women have had access. As successive generations of women have increased their educational attainment, their propensity to join the labor force has not fallen. To some extent, women have been able to take up better paid, higher grade jobs than exist in export manufacturing. In other words, the shift out of agriculture (the most marked sectoral change in women's employment) has gone beyond entry to direct production jobs in industry to entry to other sectors.

In South Korea, for example, the share of women in professional and technical positions rose six fold from 0.6 percent in 1955 to 3.2 percent in 1980, while the share of the male labor force in these positions only doubled by comparison. There was an even stronger increase in clerical work for women. Employment opportunities for women in Hong Kong changed in a similar fashion (UN/ESCAP, 1985).

Detailed cross-sectional (though not time series) data available for 1982 for Taiwan make it possible to form a comprehensive picture of women's employment status in relation to educational attainment there (Taiwan, Republic of China, 1982). The distribution of the female labor force in 1982 was: illiterate, 11 percent; primary school, 35 percent; junior high (including junior vocational), 18 percent; senior high, 6 percent; vocational school, 18 percent; junior college, 6 percent; and college and graduate school, 4 percent.

Women tend toward different occupations according to their educational attainment. In general, the occupational distribution in the 4MADCs is as follows:

- Illiterate women work mainly in agriculture, manufacturing and commerce;

- women with primary education are employed predominantly in manufacturing and agriculture;
- women with junior high and vocational school education are concentrated overwhelmingly in manufacturing as well as commerce; and women with college education are concentrated in services, the majority in the government sector, as well as manufacturing and commerce.

In manufacturing, 72 percent of female workers have junior high or lower qualifications, and only 4 percent have a college education. The industry with the largest proportion of highly educated women workers is services, where 26 percent of female workers in the financial sub-sector and 31 percent in the community, social and personal sub-sector have college education.

Other features to consider are the general level of employment opportunity open to women of each level of education. There are variations in the incidence of unemployment for women according to their education. In Taiwan, the two groups most affected are young women with senior high education (ages 15- 19) and young female college graduates (ages 20-24). Twenty five to twenty nine year old illiterate women also have difficulty finding work. These figures, however, need to be kept in perspective. The total rate of unemployment among women was only 1.95 percent (compared to 1.99 among men), and unemployment for young women college and senior high school graduates around 7 percent.

More striking is variation in the level of labor force participation among women by educational level. Within the overall participation rate of 38 percent, there is a very strong, positive association with the level of education, up to junior college level, at which point women's participation rate increases to 58 percent. However, the rate drops to 47 percent for women with college and graduate school degrees. The generally positive relationship, moreover, persists even controlling for age and marital and maternal status. For example, among married women with husbands present and who have children aged 6-17 years, 63 percent of women with college education are employed compared to 40 percent overall. The higher relative level of unemployment among better educated women seems insignificant when the strong propensity of educated women to take paid work is considered.

This is all evidence of the proven capacity of the ADC economies to provide employment to

increasingly better educated women in a variety of occupations. But the assessment of the value of these opportunities cannot be complete without consideration of the quality of that employment in relation to men's opportunities.

In general, although women's access to the labor market is good in Asian ADCs, the degree of gender stratification within the labor market is strong. In Africa, for example, women find it much more difficult to enter wage employment, and once in the labor market they suffer from wage discrimination (Appleton, Collier and Horsnell, 1990). By contrast, in the Asian ADCs the gender gap in earnings is considerable. The gap in hourly earnings by sex tends to be more pronounced than in most OECD countries (see Figure 2). The reasons for the large gender gap in wages in the Asian countries, or more particularly in Korea and Singapore - and it is notable in this connection that the gap in Japanese earnings is much closer to the Asian ADC level than to that of other OECD countries - have not been explored by scholars. One explanatory factor for wage difference by gender is often held to be the degree of occupational segregation by sex. Where certain jobs are "feminized" and others monopolized by male workers, "occupational crowding" of women results. The labor market becomes segmented by sex and different wage levels can emerge in the two segments (A consequence of this is that the non-comparability of jobs makes equal wage legislation, such as prescribed by ILO convention No. 100, difficult to implement.

The existence of occupational segregation has been studied for some OECD countries, but rarely for developing countries. It requires finely disaggregated occupational data which is not available for most developing countries. Thus, while the ten-sector breakdown of employment for South Korea, Singapore and Hong Kong presented in UN/ESCAP (1985) indicates some variation in occupational distribution by sex, it cannot be said to reveal any major discrepancies or sectoral monopolization by one group or another.

Figure 2

Notes: (1) Manufacturing wages (2) average hourly wages in non-agricultural industries. The inclusion of Japan in both country groupings makes plain that (1) and (2) are roughly equal. Sources: OECD countries ILO, 1980; Asian countries Miller, 1981, using ILO data.

The data from Taiwan reveal a relative concentration of women workers in manufacturing. However, while 40 percent of the female workforce are employed in this sector compared to 28 percent males, male workers are still the majority in the sector with 58 percent of the total.

Within the sector however, there are some very heavily feminized industries. Studies of exporting firms in clothing, electronics and other labor intensive industries show a heavy reliance on women workers, approximately 75-80 percent of their labor force (see ILO/UNCTC, 1985, for a review of the evidence). These figures suggest that occupational crowding exists. The male and female workforces are differently distributed within manufacturing with a concentration of women in the relatively labor intensive positions. There is also an inverse relationship in industry between wages and labor intensity of production. The same relationship exists in many other countries: wages tend to be lowest in the labor intensive operations, often dominated by women (Joekes, 1987).

There are a number of possible explanations of the inverse relationship between wages and labor intensity. From an economic perspective, capital intensive operations are said to require higher skill levels, so that employers will pay wages above the prevailing market level in order to retain workers and reduce retraining costs. Higher level of labor organization (unionization) are also usually found in capital intensive industries.

These arguments are not fully persuasive. First, the argument that skill requirements differ systematically with the relative factor combination in production does not stand up. Cross-country evidence indicates that, within certain limits, variations in the skill ranking of a given job is best explained as a function of the sex of the operative carrying it out. i.e., the skill ranking of a given job is increased when it is carried out by a man, without any change in its content (Phillips and Taylor, 1980; Humphrey, 1987). In the 4MADCs, moreover, real collective bargaining through organized labor unions is almost entirely lacking. The existence of a quasi-free labor market should lead to the near-equalization of wages among profit-maximizing firms, regardless of factor proportions.

The question remains as to why wages between industries vary so greatly in Taiwan, unless as the consequence of outright discrimination by gender. One of the few detailed analytical studies of wage differentials by sex for a developing country has been carried out in Taiwan by Gannicott

(1986). He uses the labor force survey cited earlier which is extremely unusual for combining large sample size with detailed information on labor force status. He reaches the conclusion that discrimination is the main cause of the wage gap (the overall ratio of female:male earnings is 0.66). Controlling for experience and for the other variables noted above eliminates some but not all of the differential. If women were as well endowed as men with the "productivity enhancing characteristics" (level and type of education and experience) and worked in firms of the same size, they would still earn only 85 percent of men's earnings. Marriage introduces a discontinuity , with men receiving higher wages and women lower wages with change in marital status, but this accounts for only part of the gap.

Another study of Taiwan suggests that the degree of discrimination is more pronounced among less educated workers, with women with graduate school qualifications paid 88 percent of salary received by men with the same level of education, compared to 50 percent among those with primary education only (Chiang and Ku, 1986, based on 1983 Family Income and Expenditure data). This is consistent with the fact that educated women's employment opportunities are found mainly in the government sector, where wage discrimination is less pronounced than in the private sector. Whether this also indicates that it is more difficult for employers to discriminate where recruitment is linked to formal educational credentials, or that more educated women are better able to resist discrimination at these levels, is not known.

4.1.3 Health and Social Policies

In the 4MADCs, income levels are such that food energy intake levels are generally adequate across the whole population and malnutrition is not usually an issue. Are there gender differences in other aspects of population health status? The health indicators considered in this brief historic review are life expectancy, maternal mortality and access to health services. As in all countries except the very poorest, female life expectancy exceeds the male in the 4MADCs. Their performance in life expectancy, as in education, has surpassed the relevant average gains over the past twenty years. In 1965, the two highest income 4MADCs (Hong Kong and Singapore) had levels of female and male life expectancy at birth rather below the then OECD average of 74 for women and 68 for men. By 1988, Hong Kong slightly exceeded the average (risen in the interim to 79 years for women and 73 for men), while Singapore fell just below. Similarly, South Korea began the period

with below the average rates of other upper middle income countries and ended with rates above the average for both sexes (World Bank, 1989).

It has been observed that the genetically determined "gender gap" in life expectancy tends to widen as national income rises (see Joekes, 1987). Events in both Singapore and South Korea illustrate this phenomenon. Those countries experienced an increase in the male-female differential over time: in Singapore the gap grew from four years in 1965 to six years in 1988, while in South Korea it increased from three years in 1965 to seven years in 1988. Alternatively, life expectancy differentials for men and women in Hong Kong decreased slightly in favor of men, dropping from 7 years in 1965 to 5 years in 1988.

Certainly, the spectacular declines in fertility in the 4MADCs noted above are relevant here. Specific direct health benefits have flowed to women from sharp declines in fertility and completed family size in the 4MADCs. These reductions contributed to decreases in female mortality and therefore to increases in life expectancy.

It is not within the scope of this paper to investigate in detail the causes of the decline in fertility in the 4MADCs. We may note however that two, interrelated and even co-extensive factors which have been mentioned as explanations of the phenomenal economic success of the 4MADCs are directly relevant in this connection. First, an international comparative study of changes in fertility levels notes that fertility decline is associated with relatively low income inequality (Repetto, 1978). AS an elaboration of that point, it is suggested that the land reform, which underlay good income distribution in Taiwan and South Korea, contributes directly to lowering fertility among lower-income deciles of the population because land title is a source of security (where insecurity is a factor predisposing parents to increase the number of children) (Hawthorn, editorial introduction, see Repetto, 1978).

It is now widely acknowledged that a number of factors which enhance overall development, along with those which specifically contribute to improvements in women's status, determine the success of fertility reduction programs. Countries which have had most success in reducing fertility have been those with (1) strong performance in indices which measure overall development, including measures of women's status, and (2) complementary and reinforcing public population programs (see

Kabeer 1990; World Development Report, 1989). A recent summary of research on Taiwan (Lockwood and Collier, 1988, cited in Kabeer, 1990) confirms that female education, particularly secondary education, is the key variable in predicting women's status, fertility and autonomy in different settings. We have noted above the strong performance of 4MADCs in promoting women's secondary level education. Moreover, an important qualification is noted in this same review and in Kabeer (1990): the employment effect, which acts partly by subsuming the education effect and partly as an independent variable, is relevant only for women in well-paid, modern jobs. The 4MADCs are notable for the comparatively high proportion of women who have been drawn into formal employment in this sense as the structure of production and employment has evolved. In addition, these countries have had comprehensive fiscal and other incentives to reduce family size as well as more conventional service programs of contraception provision. For instance, in Taiwan, the government has encouraged fertility reduction: income tax reductions are available for up to two children only; access to public housing is limited for prospective purchasers to 22 years for women and 25 years for men; later marriage is also overtly encouraged, as is wide child spacing, by family planning agencies. Thus, these countries fall into the category which has had both increases in women's status in education and employment and active public policy in this field. Any of these factors influence fertility in a downward direction: where all are present they accelerate the fertility decline in a symbiotic fashion.

Indicators of women's health status include maternal mortality rates and risk of death before age 5. Maternal mortality is inversely related to national income levels (see Table 2). Singapore and Hong Kong, each with roughly two and one half times South Korea's per capita income, have much lower maternal mortality rates: Singapore's rate is approximately one-third the rate in South Korea, while that of Hong Kong is only one-sixth (World Development Report, 1989). Both Singapore and Hong Kong perform better in this index than Japan and some of the other OECD countries, including France and Italy. Although South Korea's maternal mortality of 34 per 100,000 live births is much higher than the other 4MADCs, only a few countries also categorized as upper middle income have lower rates than this (Information not available for Taiwan).

Table 2

Indicators of Women's Health Status

Country	GNP per capita 1988	Maternal Mortality (per 100,000 live births) 1980	Risk of dying before age 5 1988	
			Female	Male
Singapore	$9,070	11	7	10
Hong Kong	$9,220	4	7	10
South Korea	$3,600	34	2	31
Japan	$21,020	15	5	7
OECD Average	$17,470	--	9	11
France	$16,090	13	8	10
Italy	$13,330	13	9	12

Source: World Bank, 1990.

Although it has received only cursory examination in the literature, another explanation of generally good health status in the 4MADCs suggests that overall levels of health are associated (yet again) with a relatively equal distribution of income. Rodgers (1979) examined countries which had much better health status than would be predicted from their level of national income. Income distribution rather than income level turns out to be the main single predictor of health status.

A related index is the risk of dying before age 5, as reported in the World Development Report (1989). Here again the pattern is repeated: South Korea performed very much better, and both Hong Kong and Singapore slightly better than their respective country income category average (again, Singapore is compared with the OECD average). The proportion of low birth weight babies is also relatively low (Human Development Report, 1990).

The peculiarly intense form of the demographic transition experienced in the 4MADCs in recent years may have had some public expenditure advantages up to now. Decreases in the number of births and the proportion of infants and young children in the population may have reduced demand for relatively expensive elements of health care. Whether future changes in the age structure of the population (as a result of the rapid fertility decline and increases in life expectancy) will allow the governments to continue to devote such small proportions of public expenditure to health services remains to be seen.

Finally, to anticipate an argument put forward later in this paper, consider the proportion of ADC government expenditure devoted to social expenditures, e.g., housing amenities, social security and welfare. South Korea and Singapore are the only cases where comparative data are available; they are notable for the extremely small expenditures in this category compared to other countries in their income class. For example, in 1965, South Korea allocated only 5.9 percent of central government expenditure to social programs of this kind, compared to 17 percent on average in upper middle income countries; the discrepancy was slightly greater still in terms of share of GNP. By 1988, the share had risen to only 8.5 percent (no group average is available in this year). Singapore spent 4 percent compared to the OECD average of 42 percent in 1965; by 1987, the figure had increased to 11 percent versus the OECD average in 1988 of 37 percent (World Development Report, 1989). We relate this later to the prevalence of the family as a source of social security in Chinese societies.

4.2 Aspects of Women's Contemporary Social Position

4.2.1 Measuring Women's Status Under 'Patriarchal Familism'

The analysis is expanded in this section to look briefly at the non-material benefits of development which have flowed to women in the 4MADCs. The section explores the concept of 'patriarchal familism' which refers to the central component in Chinese social structure mandating respect for and deference to elders and males (Farris, 1986); this tradition overwhelmingly determines gender relations in the 4MADCs. Finally, the question is explored of whether changes in women's employment and in associated demographic patterns are modifying the traditional system.

There is no uniform method of defining, measuring or assessing women's status. One comprehensive study (Whyte, 1978 cited in Ware, 1988) used no less than fifty-two measures on the status of women, which were combined into nine scales. The scales represented: property control; power of women in kinship contexts; value placed on the lives of women; value placed on their labor; women's domestic authority; ritualized separation of the sexes; control over women's sexual lives; ritualized fear of women; and level of joint participation by the two sexes in basic activities. Ware argues that the best single indicator of women's status is the occupational and income distribution of employment by gender (Ware, 1988). Cain similarly focuses on the material dimension in defining women's status by reference to the degree of economic dependence on men (Cain 1988).

The focus of this paper has so far also been on the economic or material aspects of women's welfare, primarily and with access to income through employment and wage differentials. This section includes a discussion of (1) some of the subjective elements in the evaluation of women's labor, and (2) the nature of the evidence on women's control of property and sexuality and the power of women in kinship contexts in 4MADCs. In addition, we take note of women's civic status (omitted from Whyte's list above which deals only with "preindustrial" societies).

The apparently intangible indicators of status generally cannot and should not be isolated from the material factors discussed in the previous section. For example, the manner in which women's education affects fertility rests centrally on an educated woman's increased sense of power and the

heightened respect accorded her by her family. It is also clear from the literature, however, that despite interrelations between the various kinds of indicators, they are not necessarily or inevitably correlated in any straightforward way. Ware (1988) notes that in many traditional cultures, although women may have considerable control over the products of their own labor, they are at the same time subject to control over their marital and sexual behavior. This corresponds with Caldwell's (1986) suggestion of an inverse relation between the material position of women and their non-material status, though he mainly discusses the opposite configuration, where women's lack of economic autonomy is accompanied by a high "prestige" ranking in the local culture.

Without claiming to discuss these complications, demographic evidence is assembled in this section around the hypothesis that changes in women's economic position in ADCs are positively associated with improvement in women's social status. The channel is the lessening of influence of patriarchy in the East Asian system of "patriarchal familism" (though not the strength of "familism" itself). The argument must, however, be understood as speculative and preliminary. It is a subject ripe for further research.

4.2.2 Economic Autonomy

Rights to property ownership are crucial to individual autonomy in any non-collectivist, socio-economic system. As in virtually all developing countries, women's right to property is restricted relatively to men's in East Asian ADCs. In Taiwan for instance, until recently, property acquired by the spouses before or during the marriage was considered the husband's property. The few exceptions to the law included "remunerations which the wife acquires by her labor," an item which was subsequently abolished. Moreover, "the husband had the right to manage, use and collect fruits from the wife's contributed property without her consent if he considered it necessary in the course of management. The husband's control over the wife's contributed property not only invalidated her legal ownership of it, but further obstructed her potential business activities, because her property was not acceptable as collateral" (Chiang and Ku, 1986).

Under the revision of the property law, marital property was designated as joint, rather than solely the husband's, but the husband's right to manage the property was retained. Thus, "the wife's earnings must be managed, used and profited by the husband and spent on housekeeping before she

has any right to it, unless he consents to her using her own money" (op cit). Furthermore, despite nominal joint ownership, the wife does not have the right to claim or dispose of her share of the property unless the marriage is dissolved by divorce or her husband's death. Although there have been improvements in women's access to property in Taiwan under the revised law, her control over it remains contingent on her husband's will. In spite of the improvements in women's status achieved in other areas, the issue of property ownership thus remains stubbornly inequitable by gender.

Property ownership is an area where the relationship between different aspects of women's economic status is indisputable. Women's restricted property rights limit their access to productive resources and reduce their productivity in self-employment. For example, a woman's status within the formal credit market is a direct function of her individual asset holdings; the property law effectively restricts her access to credit. Additionally, the property law restricts women's incentive to increase the amount they save out of their earnings. By extension, this eventually reduces their total individual earnings through unearned income, and most importantly, by undermining a secondary purpose of earning income (the ability to save and invest), diminishing the incentive for women to maximize their lifetime earnings.

Education is another channel through which a lack of rights in property decreases women's economic motivation. Since the accumulation of human capital directly increases one's earning capacity, to the extent that women are restricted in investing their earning, their individual interest in acquiring human capital will be reduced, i.e., women will desire less education. Limited property rights are thus an important foundation of women's generalized economic inferiority. And removal of gender discrimination in property law would have wide ramifications for women's behavior and status.

4.2.3 Civic Status

Women's standing in terms of political representation in the 4MADCS varies between the countries and in degree.

The ADC governments have varied in their adoption of formal legal instruments regarding women's status which have been developed in the international institutions. There are six main UN

conventions on the rights of women concerning elimination of all discrimination: (1) equal political rights, (2) equal marriage rights, (3) equality in education, (4) equal pay for equal value, (5) maternity protection and (6) equality in employment. Unfortunately, there is usually no immediate value to women following their country's acceptance of the UN conventions, since the constituent principles must be translated into national legislation and regulations. They do in principle, however, offer some leverage for lobbying on women's issue and are a testament to the official level of understanding of women's distinctive social disadvantages. South Korea has signed or ratified the conventions on elimination of discrimination and equal political right. Singapore is conspicuous (along with South Africa and one or two other countries) for its failure to adopt a single one (Sivard, 1985).

Women have had the right to vote for many years -- for example, since 1948 in South Korea and 1965 in Singapore. In the South Korean legislature, approximately 3 percent of the representatives in 1984 were women, with a higher proportion in the national executive cabinet (Sivard, 1985). Although the percentage of women in the legislature is low, it is comparable to that in several Western European countries. In the United States, the number of women elected to the legislature has never risen above ten percent, and the selection of a single woman to cabinet rank, alongside 10 or 20 men, represents a similar proportional achievement. While the Philippines and several South Asian countries have elected a woman as President or Prime Minister, this does not signify a high level of routine representation of women policy makers in the standing bodies of government. Moreover, those few women who have risen to positions of the highest authority in the region have done so as the only available candidate representing a particular political dynasty or family, following death (usually by assassination) of the last male incumbent. Bhutto's short term in office in Pakistan was surely evidence that the hostility to the actuality of a female premier may be insuperable even in those extraordinary circumstances.

Although not a member of the United Nations, Taiwan has not only incorporated some of the principles (e.g. equal wages) into their legislation but also enforces a reserved seat system for a proportional number of women in central and local government. The history of women's influence and incorporation in Taiwanese politics is similar to the situation in other countries with past revolutionary episodes. Gender equality was put forward as the fifth of the nine elements in the program of the proto-KMT in 1912, in response to women's role in forming the Republic, including

their contributions on the battlefield. However, after coming to power, the party removed the issue from the agenda to appease conservative factions of the coalition. No mention of gender equality was included in the provisional constitution subsequently adopted, despite violent objections by women's groups at the time (Chiang and Ku, 1986). Twelve years later, in 1924, the issue reappeared in the formal party program. Its espousal was presumably the cause for the eventual revision of the personal property law (discussed above) and passage of equal wage legislation and two other initiatives were also undertaken.

The Women's Department of the Party was set up in 1953 under the leadership of Mme Chiang Kai- Shek with the goals of "involving women in anti-communist struggle, social services and country reconstruction". The political benefits of trying to win the support of half the population is obvious. Activities, however, included an extensive program of home economics training, but no measures to advance women's legal rights or social status, or to address the numerous social issues facing women in the rapidly changing economy, including career development, teenage pregnancy, family crises and continuing education (op cit).

The second initiative for women was more substantial, consisting of the introduction of a reserved seat system for election to public office. Women have, however, generally been well-represented among the candidates for office, and, since the 1970s, the number of women elected has exceeded the number of reserved seats. By this measure, women are now considered well established in public office. Although their share of elected office compares favorably with most developing countries, it is still quite low, with women holding approximately fifteen percent of the positions at all levels of representation (province-wide and in municipal government). The motive for such sponsorship may be found in the KMT's structurally tenuous position and its need to seek legitimacy and popular support from certain constituencies. This interpretation is supported by the failure of the party to press through any serious measures to counteract, for example, the under-representation of women in higher education and the pronounced discrimination in the labor market.

The final situation thus seems to be of occasional, fortuitous entry of women into the highest levels of public office, together with a very low, routine level presence of women in local and central government positions (though no other countries, apart from the Scandinavian countries do any

better). This does not of course mean that women in such positions of power are active in pursuit of women's interests, and it is certainly not the case that ruling party organizations have pushed forward the cause of women's advancement in a serious way. The strictly authoritarian and centralized nature of government in the 4MADCs and the curious modifications to democratic representation that exist in different countries set limits on women's movements' ability to influence policy. Popular forms of government range from facade democracy in Singapore, heavily authoritarian central control in South Korea, Taiwan's rigidified formal systems of representation combined with elements of responsiveness to local pressures. At the grassroots level, some women's movements, particularly those based in the student community or from local level labour organizations, have been extremely vocal and active in political protest. The most publicized disputes however relate to narrowly defined issues, such as conditions of employment or lack of formal representation. In the Philippines and Malaysia, for instance, women EPZ workers protested against the ban on women's rather than any particularly substantive issue. Asian ADC governments have tended to maintain very strict regulations against the operation of women's organizations in EPZ operation, hoping thereby to attract foreign investment. There is some evidence that such restrictions are unnecessary and that TNCs may even welcome the presence of unions as a channel for communication with the workforce. Malaysia has recently relented on this point, to effect the formation of inplant unions.

Finally, it is worth noting one interesting difference in the juridical position of women in East Asia. In Europe and the U.S. women have been categorized alongside children, as essentially of diminished responsibility. The only benefit of this situation is that women profited from some exemption from coercive sanctions of the state. This tradition lives on in protective guise in the ethic of "women and children first" in situations of danger. East Asian women do not share this dubious privilege. In industrial action and student protest, South Korean women have not had any immunity from police brutality.

4.2.4 Social Consequences of Factory Employment for Women

Previous sections of this paper have discussed the rapid mobilization of women into paid employment in the 4MADCs, particularly in the manufacturing sector, as well as the poor treatment of women in the labor market in terms of wage discrimination and relative lack of access to

occupations appropriate to their educational qualifications. By way of complementing these general discussions, a presentation of the social status of women workers in the export sector follows.

Much of the literature on women's factory employment in developing countries in general and 4MADCs in particular reports an undifferentiated picture of poor employment conditions and exploited and stigmatized women workers. Field case studies however modify this view. Much of the evidence is drawn together in ILO/UNCTC (1985), and a good original comparative study is UN/ESCAP (1986). It is clear that in most cases earnings in industrial jobs exceed those available to women in other sectors (Joekes, 1987). The ILO and UN reports demonstrate that employment conditions, including wages, are usually better in larger factories and foreign owned companies than in local firms.

The feminist literature on export production employment tends to draw on inappropriate bases for comparison in coming to a strongly negative assessment of export factory employment for women (e.g. in comparing to those prevailing in the United States in the same industry). The literature is sometimes inappropriately judgmental: one example is the frequent castigation of employers for intensifying systems of gender subordination, when in fact they only replicate local norms for which they cannot be held responsible. In fact, foreign firms employing large numbers of local women may be tolerated by the local population only if they acknowledge traditional social traditions in this way. The base on which comparisons are made is important.

The case study evidence shows that while women workers are aware of the harshness of the work environment and the exhausting exigencies of factory wage employment, they see evidence of a two- fold gain. From their employment, women gain an increased sense of self-esteem and an appreciation of the occasion for social intercourse and group solidarity. The second benefit is a consequence of enhanced status within the household, including a new ability to participate in household expenditure decisions as a result of their financial contribution to the core household budget. Today, as women's earning power has come to be appreciated, the pejorative reference in Taiwanese popular mythology to girls as loss- making propositions has been revised (Chiang and Ku, 1986). It is frequently reported that households explicitly use a daughter's factory earnings to finance a son's further education. The simple view of the uniformly negative effect of factory employment on women is clearly inappropriate. Women and their households report that they receive some

benefit.

On a more sophisticated level, we may argue that these psychosocial benefits from factory employment may be assessed as consistent with the consolidation of women's subordination at the most general level rather than offering release from it.

In the example of Taiwan, it has been forcefully argued that the mobilization of women's labor into industrial production is consistent with women's continued acquiescence in - and is instrumental in the intensification of - the system of "patriarchal familism" (Gallin, 1982; Gates, 1979; Greenhalgh, 1985). Remunerated employment represents a new stage in women's lives between completion of school and entry into marriage. By paying part of their wages to their parents, they make some individual compensation to them for the costs of their upbringing. Numerous studies testify to the high share of payments that young working women make to their parents out of their wages, whether they live at home, commute or migrate to work. Previously the contribution they made was in the form of in-kind labor for the household in agriculture, household maintenance or social reproductive tasks. The loss of household labor as a result of the rapid rise in the education level of young women is now far outweighed by the financial benefit the family derives from her wage employment. But these economic claims cease with a young women's marriage and attachment to her husband's family. The marked rise in the average marrying age has lengthened this phase of employment, but the loss of a claim on the daughters' labor earnings at the time of her marriage means that the preference for human capital investment in sons remains. Thus while the daughter's labor is more highly valued than before, it clearly remains secondary to that of the sons.

The increase in women's self-esteem might then merely reflect their enhanced ability to contribute, both financially and otherwise, to their parents' household through their new position. As long as the system remains, its pervasive effects in restricting women's life choices, particularly with respect to education, will continue. The argument is that there is a new "double exploitation" of women, not only as subservient elements in the patriarchal system (from which women may derive some benefit through old age support) but also as labor force participants under capitalist industrialization.

In the following sections, we will investigate the idea that although the family cycle may have

been consolidated in this way, improvements in women's education and employment may have, at the same time, brought about changes in the characteristics of the family which have independently influenced women's status for the better.

4.2.5 Demographic Factors: family size, spousal age gap, son preference

Cain (1988) suggests that women's status, specifically the degree of economic dependence on men is determined by the social structure of gender relations. The structure of gender relations is shown in certain aspects of demographic behavior. Cain proposes that two demographic varieties (son preference and age gap between spouses) can be taken as an index of the strength of patriarchy in different societies. The rationale is that in personal relations between spouses the man is more likely to dominate the woman when he is considerably older than she (or in the extreme case, at marriage the wife may be little more than a child); and that son preference encapsulates a rational choice by parents corresponding to greater male economic power. The degree of son preference reflects the depth of disparity in economic status by gender in the society. In countries where patriarchy is weak as measured by this index, changes associated with economic growth have brought about more rapid fertility decline than in others.

The argument is advanced with demographic data for a number of countries including South Korea. Korea has, as noted, experienced a rapid fertility decline. It has a relatively small median age difference between conjugal partners: only four years, less than half the level of Bangladesh. Yet Koreans also have a relatively strong preference for sons: this is something of an anomaly in that normally there is a strong correspondence between the two measures. "The material basis for son preference has been substantially eroded by economic development and the consequent amelioration of risks, development of financial and insurance markets and growth of social security and employee benefits" (op cit). Korea's situation raises the possibility that in cases of rapid growth, son preference (which otherwise drives fertility upward) will be overcome by a reduction in desired family size.

Cain's argument is cross-sectional but it would seem to apply to changes over time in a given society as well. He notes that less patriarchal societies are inherently more flexible with respect to increases in female age at marriage, education and employment, all factors associated with fertility decline. If social values encourage these factors which then independently give rise to demographic

changes (including reduced or reversed age gap between spouses and qualified son preference) then it could be suggested that the tradition of patriarchy is further diminished over time. Certainly, World Fertility Survey data imply a fall in the age gap between spouses in both South Korea and Hong Kong, when in both countries between the late 1970s and late 1980s, there was a marked convergence in the distribution by age of men and women at marriage (UN 1988, 1980). The mean age at marriage of women rose much more markedly than men's. Increases in women's marriage age have been more pronounced in Asia than any other region (UN 1987). Patriarchy itself, as a system of cultural values, would not end immediately but would inevitably be seen as outdated if women had achieved economic independence in spite of its existence. (Comparable data in changes in degree of son preference over time are not available). Whether change in the spousal age gap really can be interpreted as a change in the degree of patriarchy is an issue that needs much more research, and needs to be considered in the context of economic and legal positions as can be supported. Other demographic changes may relate to the strength of patriarchy.

Fertility decline has gone alone with increases in women's decision making authority and reduced male control over women's sexuality. Chiang and Ku, in their study (1986) of population policy in Taiwan, note that "it is believed women play more important roles than men in determining fertility levels ... [and] women are the main target for family planning services ... The greater the degree of participation by a wife in family decision and the lesser the degree of segregated role relationships, the lower fertility tends to be". But although women may take the lead in this area, declines in fertility do not necessarily imply a decline in the strength of the system of patriarchal control. The reduction in family size has been a desire common to both sexes, in response to changing economic circumstances. Patriarchy as a system requires only perpetuation of the male line in respect of crude numbers of offspring.

In this sense, women's repudiation of the system is possible only by refusing to reproduce at all. There is a rising incidence of voluntary childlessness in urban areas in Taiwan (Poston, 1988), primarily associated with women's occupational position and education. The proportion of women choosing not to bear children rises with increases in educational level and occupational rank. For these women, "motherhood becomes more and more a matter for rational calculation . . . and a competitor for other social roles" (op cit). Studies of women's fertility decisions in Korea and Taiwan cited earlier gave the greatest weight to women's educational level as an explanatory variable. Among

married women, those with more education were able to better withstand the pressure from the husband's family insisting that the woman bear children; this was true even when the couple lived with his parents. Although a strong son preference persists in Taiwan, it is now tempered to some extent by a high incidence of childlessness. But the significance of even this variable is ambiguous. Childlessness is voluntary in relation to prevailing prices and costs of childbearing, but women may make the choice to have no children with regret. Therefore, although childlessness may be interpreted as an effective form of resistance of patriarchy on women's part, it may be unwelcome to many.

The jury is still effectively out on the interpretation of demographic indicators as evidence of the underlying structure of some relics of gender.

Finally, the question of family support for older women bears investigation. The utility of the family as an old age social security institution is primarily a measure of "familism" but it also necessarily reveals how elderly women are treated. Some information is available on the number of older women who reside in larger households once their reproductive and mothering years are over. In Cairo, 7 percent of households are composed of single women living alone, while 10 percent of all women over the age of 65 live alone (Shorter, 1989). Elderly widows in Egypt are acknowledged as the single most important group among the destitute, an observation which applies to a number of other countries in Asia and the Near East regions as well. The Egyptian social security pension system was expanded in the early 1970s specifically to reach widows, though the real value of the pension payment has been frozen and now is far below the subsistence level. In India, two recent studies (Dreze, 1990 and Lipton, 1983) definitively illustrate the dire and disproportionate level of poverty into which widows are thrown in the South Asian societies.

Although the data are less than comprehensive, it seems that the situation is very different in 4MADCs. In South Korea, single person female households of all ages accounted for only 3 percent of households in 1980, with the single person household rate among women peaking at age 65 and falling away strongly thereafter (Mason, 1986). Clearly, the number of elderly Korean women living alone is extremely small in the total household population, and the probability of a woman being widowed and left to live on her own is much smaller than in some other societies. Mason's projections of the future distribution of household types, based on past trends, indicates a continued

decline in average household size but no significant change in the share of single person households. Her projections suggest that the family is an efficient institution for inter-generational resource distribution in general, and old age support in particular, in the 4MADCs, and this includes support for women also. It may explain why government expenditures on social security schemes have been kept at extremely low levels relative to the international standard, as discussed in Section 4.1.2.

4.2.6 "Life choices" and social mobility for women

A complete picture of women's economic autonomy requires evidence not only on income, wealth, and social security but also on social mobility. In other words, an accurate assessment requires probability statistics on individual women's life choices, i.e., whether personal and household circumstances limit women's ability to take advantage of improved employment and economic opportunities. This is another topic for future research, as little data is currently available. An investigation into this area might use two lines of enquiry: the possible differentiating effects of membership in different types of households by (1) composition (or headship) and (2) income class. The rural/urban distinction also may be significant but is likely to be less conspicuous in the 4MADCs than in other countries. For example, rural/urban factors may be less obvious in South Korea given its high population densities and good social service coverage of the rural areas, while in Taiwan, it is due to the combined strength of integral economic relations between the rural and urban populations and the persistent social ties between rural families and relatives/members who have migrated to jobs in the cities.

With respect to headship, membership in a female headed household seems to be particularly disadvantageous for girls in some regions, e.g. North and Latin America. One can ask whether this applies to girls in the 4MADCs. The apparent incidence of female headship of multi-person households is relatively low in the 4MADCs; in South Korea they represent only 11 percent of all households (Mason, 1986). In view of the heterogeneity of female headed households, including those with absent migrant male members who remit income, it is not correct to assume that all of these are poor. Among those female headed households which are self-sufficient, however, girls may be required to leave school early to seek employment so that their brothers can continue in school. None of the case studies of women workers in industry consider their household origins and the effects of female headship on girls, but it appears to be a topic worthy of investigation.

Class bias in women's access to higher education ranks high among other subjects for research. Wage dispersion by occupation and educational qualifications is quite pronounced in the 4MADCs. The gap may widen further if growth in demand for skilled workers surpasses the supply of people with sufficiently high educational attainment. For their relative income levels, the tertiary education systems in the 4MADCs are, with the exception of South Korea, underdeveloped. In all the 4MADCs, but especially in South Korea, there is a sharp gender disparity in access to higher education. Educational attainment is likely to become a polarizing force between men and women in ADC labor markets. With a maximum of only 10 percent of women passing from secondary to tertiary level education in the 4MADCs, many questions arise: Who gets into college? Is entry scholastically competitive or determined primarily by ability to pay? And are "hidden" income and class related forces emerging at earlier stages, as in Japan, as parents try to improve their offspring's chances of college entry by paying for extra tuition, etc.?

With the rapid rate of change in the 4MADCs, it is also necessary to examine the situation of past generations of women who have not had the material benefits of women today, especially in educational opportunity. There is a marked stratification by age and education among women in the labor force. In Taiwan, women with little or no education earn much lower wages and are primarily confined to the female-dominated agricultural sector. In the sectors with high percentages of uneducated female workers, there is no seniority element in earnings. In contrast, the scarcity value of education seems predominant within all age groups. Women with primary education in the 45-49 age group earn a wage currently equal to that of young college graduates and much more than women on the same educational level aged 20-24 (Gannicott, 1986). If the tradition of familism persists, then the material prospects of elderly uneducated women, as they age, are good. However, if familism is declining, social policy will have to monitor their conditions and provide pensions or other support specifically for these women.

5. WOMEN'S POSITION IN OTHER COUNTRIES OF ASIA AND THE NEAR EAST: SOME SELECTIVE EVIDENCE

This section highlights some aspects of women's social and economic position which the preceding analysis suggests are either relevant in determining the general status of women, or have been particularly important in 4MADCs development. Its emphasis throughout is on differences between the situation in 4MADCs and the other countries. The countries considered are Thailand, the Philippines, Jordan and Egypt, though not every aspect of women's status in considered for each country. The policy implications are explored in section 6.

5.1 Labor Force Participation

Southeast Asian countries tend to share the 4MADCs' relatively high rates of overall female labor force participation: in the Philippines the recorded rate was 41 percent in 1980. Thailand is exceptional in world terms, with a recorded rate of 73 percent (Sivard, 1985). In both these cases the rate had fallen rather than risen over the previous 20 years.

Evidence on the characteristics of women's employment in these two countries points to some significant differences from the ADC pattern. It also illustrates that the high participation rate among Thai women indicates underlying differences in the national definitions of activity, rather than any substantive differences (see Table 3). First, in the Thai case, women's work is weighted much more heavily towards unpaid family labor (65 percent of the female workforce in 1980) and away from employee status (17 percent, compared with 42 percent in South Korea) (UN/ESCAP,1985). Furthermore, the agricultural sector is by far the largest source of employment for women, employing 74 percent of the labor force in 1980 . Thus, the high rate of female labor force participation in Thailand is largely explained by the fact that official statistics record more women working on the family farm as economically active than do statistics in other countries. As noted, the critical element that influences both demographic change and women's bargaining position within the household is the share of women working as paid employees; by this measure Thai women are not well placed. However, it is notable that the situation is changing, and the female share of both non- agricultural and employee status employment has increased rapidly over the past twenty years (op cit).

Table 3

Thailand: distribution of female employment by industry and occupation, 1982 (thousands).

Sector	Professional, Technical and Related	Administrative, Executive and Managerial	Clerical	Sales	Transport and Communications	Craftsmen, Production Process Workers	Service, Sports and Recreation	Farmers and Related	TOTAL
Agriculture & Forestry	--	1.0	2.1	0.3	--	3.0	1.7	8246.3	8,254.4
Mining & Quarrying	--	--	0.3	--	--	2.6	--	17.5	20.4
Manufacturing	3.1	6.5	38.4	0.6	0.3	795.9	14.7	17.0	876.5
Construction, Repair & Demolition	0.4	0.2	3.4	--	--	75.7	2.4	1.8	83.9
Electricity, Gas and Sanitation	0.4	2.1	3.0	--	0.4	2.9	0.6	0.2	9.6
Commerce	14.1	14.5	60.1	1,152.9	1.8	35.9	9.7	0.1	1,289.1
Transport, Storage & Communications	3.3	3.4	10.0	--	16.4	2.8	3.3	0.1	39.3
Services	342.4	52.4	82.2	248.7	3.0	39.2	341.7	5.7	1,115.3
Other	--	--	0.3	--	--	--	--	--	0.3
TOTAL	364.0	80.4	200.2	1,402.7	22.1	958.1	374.5	8,289.1	11,691.1

Source: Statistical Yearbook, Thailand 1981-84, no. 33 (Bangkok, National Statistics Office, 1984), pp.516-517.

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The distribution of women's employment opportunities in the Philippines more closely resembles that of the 4MADCs, but again, the crude statistics disguise several important features of women's situation. The overall participation rate is comparable to rates within the 4MADCs, and the share of women working as employees is also similar (in fact identical to the South Korean case, at 42 percent in 1980) (UN/ESCAP, 1985). But data at the sub-sectoral level (though not at the sectoral level) reveal a major difference. In Manila, by far the most important occupation for women is domestic service, which accounted for 32 percent of all women workers in 1980 (the same as in 1970). In 1970 in both Singapore and Seoul domestic service was also the main occupation for women, though not as predominant (employing 14 percent and 20 percent respectively). Ten years later, however, domestic service was no longer one of the top five occupations for women in either of the two cities. With its isolated nature, meager pay, and compatibility with childbearing, domestic service has little in common with other types of contractual wage employment, particularly with respect to its likely influence on women's social status, economic autonomy and fertility behavior. Therefore, for differing reasons, both Thailand and the Philippines offer significantly less favorable employment opportunities for women than the 4MADCs offer.

Middle Eastern and North African societies present a more obvious contrast to the 4MADCs. They have extremely low recorded rates of female labor force participation (e.g. 6 percent in Jordan, 7 percent in Egypt in 1980, based on census type data) (Sivard, 1985). However, different data sources can record very different participation rates; the Egyptian agricultural survey's estimate is twice the census figure. An ILO experimental survey produced widely varying rates in Egypt, depending on the definition of activity, time of survey, type of household, whether there was a restriction to "main activity", etc. (Anker and Anker, 1989). Female labor force participation rates in general are generally dubious and of limited value, because the definitional base is often arbitrary, and participation varies from place to place and over time in any given country. It has in effect been suggested in this paper that for demographic purposes, it is perhaps most useful to use the strictest definition, and more or less limited to persons in formal, wage employment. And to assess actual labor inputs by men and women into particular activities, individuals' full-time allocation data is a much better source. Information of this kind shows that in the Middle East and North Africa, women's labor contribution to agricultural production is substantial and comparable to that in other regions. Standard labor force participation rates do have one revealing connotation, as the Middle East estimates show: they reflect local perceptions of the extent and value of women's productive

activities. Clearly, women's acknowledged participation in these economies is much lower than in the 4MADCs.

Within industry, however, a very different picture emerges. In both Egypt and Jordan, women take on direct production positions and, in some segments of modern industry and services (e.g. pharmaceutical and medicine) women hold skilled technical and scientific jobs, just as in other developing countries with long established or newly emerging modern industries (Birks, Papps and Sinclair, 1991).

5.2 Education

Both Thailand and the Philippines have achieved universal primary education. The Philippines has also achieved comparable levels to the 4MADCs in secondary level provision to both boys and girls (close to 70 percent for both sexes, 1986) (World Bank, 1989). Thailand, although it has a higher GNP per capita, lags behind in this respect, with overall secondary school enrollment only 29 percent in 1986. The Philippines has also achieved considerable success in female educational provision at the tertiary level: women's enrollment was 32 percent* by 1980 (compared to 26 percent among men).

Setting these conditions against the distribution of women's employment in these two countries displays a few anomalies. In Thailand, the poor education level of the female population means that, in a sense, the predominance of agricultural employment is not inappropriate. In the Philippines, however, much higher educational attainments have not been matched by evolution of the employment structure away from unpaid, informal and quasi-informal jobs outside the agricultural sector.

High educational attainment for girls in the Philippines, together with the predominance of domestic service, conforms more to the Latin American pattern than to the ADC situation. Variations between East and Southeast Asian countries in employment patterns is also consistent with the notion that the share of domestic service in total female employment could serve as an index of income inequality between women and men at the national level, since personal service employment is linked to the spread to personal incomes.

In Jordan and Egypt, as in other Middle Eastern and North African countries, there has been marked improvement in educational provision at every level, both overall and for girls relative to boys. Although the data are fragmentary, it seems that educational enrollment rates for females are rapidly approaching those for males, and the experience of higher education for men and women appear to be becoming more similar" (in terms of subjects of specialization) (Birks, Papps and Sinclair, 1990).

5.3 Fertility

Both the Philippines and Thailand have experienced significant drops in fertility, though not at the rate of the 4MADCs. The total fertility rate was 3.9 in the Philippines in 1987 (6.8 in 1965) and 2.2 in Thailand (6.3 in 1965), where 44 and 65 percent of married women were practicing contraception, as compared to about 70 percent in the 4MADCs (World Bank, 1989). Egypt had the same fertility rate as the Philippines in 1965 (6.8), but Egypt's level did not fall as rapidly, and in 1987 it was only down to 4.8. Jordan began and ended the period with the highest rates of any of these countries, 8.0 in 1965 and 5.2 in 1987. The only country in this region that has so far instituted a population policy has been Tunisia (TFR of 7.0 in 1965 falling to 2.8 in 1987), and not coincidentally, which also has the best record in terms of women's education and formal labor force participation (Birks, Papps and Sinclair, 1990). Other countries, including Jordan and Morocco, are not following suit with respect to government attention to fertility reduction.

6. AREAS FOR POLICY INTERVENTION

This section carries the preceding analysis into the arena of policy, drawing lessons from 4MADCs' experiences for interventions in other countries of Asia and the Near East. It primarily emphasizes the importance of employment-related measures, whether the ultimate objective be gender equity or fertility reduction.

6.1 Education

Improvements in women's education are strongly called for by many WID advocates. This paper, however, proposes some redirection away from this focus, and also a revision of priorities within the education sector. There are three main reasons for such rethinking:

First, levels of educational provision for girls in non-4MADCs have been rapidly increasing in recent years at both primary and secondary levels. Cain suggests that further gains may be elusive and that efforts may meet great social resistance in countries with strong patriarchal traditions and regimes. Muslim countries comprise the majority of those with low rates of educational provision for girls. It may be then that education should not be interpreted as a causal agent with much independent force, but rather as an indicator of power of patriarchal institutions in different countries. In that case, it may be more appropriate and cost-effective to intervene against other elements in the set of institutions which constitute and uphold patriarchal relations, specifically women's economic dependence on men.

Second, education is often promoted for its role in fertility reduction. Female education is seem as the primary means of lowering fertility in developing countries. The social mechanisms it activates are clear: it leads to reductions in child mortality, and it is associated with employment and the willingness and ability to use modern health and family planning services. However, this causality and the resulting social benefits of fertility reduction may be greatest for provision of education at relatively low levels of attainment. Therefore, for those countries which have not obtained universal primary education, the fertility-reduction case for female education remains strong. Continued expansion of secondary education may not serve the objective of lowering birth rates, especially if, as suggested above, other elements of the patriarchal regime remain in force which give women

incentive (or deny them the choice) to produce children and particularly sons.

Third, in the lowest income countries and those resistant to secondary education for girls, the best way to encourage enrollment will be to increase its benefits to girls' parents, via the provision of adequate paid work for women. Of course, practical obstacles such as a lack of segregated facilities or female teachers will first need to be overcome, but in the long run, providing a private incentive for investment in women's earning potential may be more cost-effective in improving girls' education than premature provision of education in the absence of attractive employment opportunities.

Greater emphasis on the provision of employment may thus deserve priority over educational provision beyond a certain point. It contributes directly rather than indirectly to women's potential for economic independence. Ware (1988) argues that the occupational and income distribution by gender is indeed the single best indicator of women's status.

Within the education sector, a realignment of priorities is proposed away from expansion of secondary education of girls towards achieving parity at the tertiary level between men and women (whatever total level of provision is considered feasible or necessary). This shift is justified because, at the tertiary level, the issue is no longer each individual's right to basic education, but rather the national or societal objective of enhancing human capital by advancing the pool of talent as far as national resources allow. There is no evidence to suggest that the distribution of cognitive capabilities is not equal by gender. In most countries, girls' academic performance equals or surpasses boys'. All developing countries will have to continually upgrade their workforce skills, to remain competitive in international markets. In export manufacturing industries, for example, technical change is penetrating even the clothing industry, after many decades of virtually unchanged production technology except for limited improvements in machining equipment. As in other sectors, notably textile and electronics, computer aided design and the adoption of "just in time" production organization methods look set to change the skill requirement of the work force. More cognitive and managerial skills will be required and the proportional need for unskilled and semi-skilled workers will be greatly reduced (Mitter, 1991).

The more advanced a country becomes, the greater is the social cost of a suboptimal

educational pattern that arises from gender-biased access to higher education. The social rate of return to women's education is in general no less than to men's (Schultz, 1989b); at the highest level of attainment, where female and male labor force participation rates converge, there is absolutely no grounds for discounting the value of educating women because of their supposedly smaller productive contribution.

In order to ensure equal, merit-based access for women to higher education, extensive scholarship schemes should be part of the package, initially with an affirmative action bias towards females to encourage female participation.

6.2 Trade Regimes and Export Incentives

The case for advocating greater openness in trade as an effective instrument for growth and development has been advanced on both theoretical and empirical grounds. As noted at the beginning of this paper, earlier strategic theories of development which advocated industrialization behind protective trade barriers have now generally lost favor. They were based on the idea that industrialization was a developmental imperative, partly because the international terms of trade were structurally biased over the long term against primary commodity exports, and that "infant" industries needed support if they were to become established. It was also argued that, despite the undeniable empirical association between growth in manufactured exports and in GNP (evidenced primarily in the 4MADCs), it was misconceived to focus on the openness of their trade regime as the key for success elsewhere. Those countries' ability to develop manufacturing capacity in exports so rapidly may have lain, not in the trade regime but in some third factor - institutional capacity, perhaps, or entrepreneurial spirits, or some other factor vital to success in development. Another earlier argument used to resist trade liberalization. This was the claim that because markets are limited any one developing country's success in increasing exports would merely be at the cost of some other countries' share.

Whether because industrial sectors are now past the stage of infancy, or because protection is seen to have been ineffective as an instrument for industrialization, being fatally flawed by the political vested interests to which it gave rise, most developing country governments have come round to seeing the advantages of trade liberalization (Riddell, 1990). (Of course they have also been

nudged in this direction by the policy conditions attached to IMF and World Bank loans). Moreover, the sustained buoyancy of international trade in manufactures, gives the lie to the idea that exporting is a "zero sum" game. This has not proven historically true. World trade in manufactures has grown at least twice the annual rate of growth of world income over the past forty years or so (Joekes, 1987) and developing countries have shared in that expansion.

Reservations about trade liberalization now rest primarily on pragmatic considerations about the crucial importance of the sequencing of trade policy reforms, if capital flight is to be avoided, government revenues are not to be depleted, and de-industrialization in the aftermath of reform is to be avoided (see Development Research Insights, 1990, 1991). The lessons of the 4MADCs in this domain need to be heeded. Although the lineaments of macro-economic policy in their case were certainly such as not to discourage export production, trade has never been totally liberalized (for example, restrictions remain on imports of luxury consumer goods) and the financial markets were quite tightly regulated to control foreign exchange transactions and ensure the inflow of financial resources into export industry. Whether or not it is still valid to call these countries' policies "liberal" is a matter of debate. Certainly they should be so classed if the fundamental indicator (and objective of openness in policy) is taken to be the value of non-commodity trade in national income. In any event, there are lessons to be learned from the 4MADCs as regards the implementation of trade policy reforms.

An analysis from a gender perspective reinforces the desirability of whatever policies serve to increase developing countries' capability to export manufactures. (The following section explores some of the public policies that a gender perspective suggests are needed within the export sector.)

On the assumption (which this paper has tried to substantiate) that employment in the formal sector is generally to women's socio-economic advantage, it follows that policies which promote modern job opportunities for women should be given a positive evaluation. The information presented in this paper demonstrates that, in the countries studied, expansion of export industry has increased employment opportunities for women. This effect follows even in societies in Asia and the Near East whose cultural values are generally perceived as inimical to women's participation in public economic activity.

A recent global analysis confirms that the relationship holds good throughout the developing world. Data for 35 developing countries show that "countries with export-oriented manufacturing sectors tend to have female-intensive manufacturing sectors" (female-intensive refers to the sex ratio among employees in the sectoral workforce). The female intensity of manufacturing has increased over time in a majority of countries, in association with the increase in manufactured exports from developing countries over the period 1960-mid 1985 (approximately) (Wood, 1990).

6.3 Employment-Related Measures

The first point to be made here is that both theory and evidence indicate that the existence of minimum wage legislation, which sets wages at any level significantly above the basic market clearing rate, is inimical to women's rate of participation in the labour force (Birks, Papps and Sinclair, 1990). Thus, there is no plausibility to the argument for a minimum wage on grounds that it will improve women's employment position because they are concentrated in low wage jobs. Women's prospects for economic independence depend first and foremost on access to income, not on its value relative to male earnings. The pursuit of earnings parity comes later.

In practice, most employment recommendations are directed to this end. They entail measures to improve the occupational distribution of employment for women (which also improves women's average earnings relative to men, to the extent that men's occupational opportunities do not improve further) and measures to reduce discrimination in recruitment, wages and promotion. Improvement in occupational distribution must include as a major aspect an increase in the share of "modern" wage employment. This type of work is the kind which most strongly motivates women to reduce their fertility; in general, it provides relatively high wages, especially compared to agriculture, and much more security than alternative types of employment available to women, namely as own account workers or in the informal sector. Moreover, it is the only type of employment subject to regulation with regard to safety and other working conditions, payment of equal wages, and enforcement of other anti-discriminatory laws.

At the mass level, the easiest way to improve the occupational distribution of employment for women may be to improve incentives for modern sector export manufacturing following the ADC model. It brings a specific demand for female labour, and has proved highly effective, as noted, in

increasing the share of paid employment for women in many other countries, in some cases dramatically. The positive effect seems to overshadow apparent cultural animosity to the idea of formal employment for women, i.e. in Muslim countries. As suggested, only a basic level of education seems to be necessary among the female population for export production to be established successfully. Encouraging the entry of foreign investors may be the quickest way of establishing this kind of activity.

A gender-related argument is sometimes used to oppose the promotion of export industry. This is the claim that export industry is ineffective as a means of reducing unemployment - which may be an important political objective in countries with surplus labour. Overall, of course, export manufacturing does increase labour absorption, which is the underlying goal. The nominal rate of unemployment is not reduced thereby, because it is merely a statistical fluke that many of the women who take up the jobs were previously counted as inactive rather than unemployed.

Governments need to take an active role, however, in monitoring and securing labour standards in this sector, and more positively, in trying to capitalize on the potential benefits it offers to women. For instance, standards can be laid down for all employers in this sector for provision of meals on site, health services for workers and their families, transportation, childcare facilities, etc., and to encourage women workers participation in on-site deposit-taking credit institutions, giving them the opportunity to accumulate assets and perhaps later enter the micro-enterprise sector (Joekes and Moayedi, 1987).

Assembly or light industrial production for export may not, however, be viable in countries where local wage rates are very high because of oil revenues or other circumstances which lead to a relatively high standard of living. Particularly in these cases, another possible action is to promote the employment of women at the highest levels, i.e. for women with college education. Creation of more jobs at the highest level can not only sway the overall occupational distribution for women, but also establish women's credentials as upper level workers. In any case, there may well be less discrimination against women at this level. If the number of women with such qualifications can be expanded, then another socio-cultural objection to women working (which is often present in the Arab world) could be overcome.

Anti-discriminatory measures to ensure equal treatment for women in earnings, promotion, etc., can also be more easily enforced at this level; a few high profile test case enforcements would have an important general effect in raising awareness and compliance. In several countries, it has been noted that the public sector performs better on this account than the private sector. A review of public sector employment practices might be suggested to other countries which have either not monitored their own practices, or which have been found to be substandard by outside researchers.

It should be noted that in ADCs today, and other countries which are growing rapidly, introduction and enforcement of equal wage legislation will be crucial to improving the incentive for women to undertake education for higher-skilled professions, and in ensuring the continued expansion of the highly qualified labor pool (Gannicott, 1986).

Protective legislation in favor of women (e.g. restrictions on the hours and types of work) raise the cost of women's labour relative to men's and should be abolished. Standing (1989) suggests that deregulation of this kind can be effective in enlarging the spread of occupations open to women, and points out that this has happened in South Korea. Furthermore, he proposes that there are pressures at work reducing the strength of occupational segregation worldwide. To hasten this process, it is suggested that the factors which allow women access to traditionally male-dominated occupations should be investigated, as well as which occupations are most promising for female entry. A U.S.A.I.D. project in Morocco reported by Lycette (1986, and U.S.A.I.D., 1987) shows that concerted interventions to train women and subsequently place trainees in employment can quickly introduce women into relatively well paid, high grade occupations (in this case, technical drawing). It may have been significant that the occupation concerned was a new one in which stereotyped attitudes about women had not become established. Worker protection through labour legislation on safety standards, hours of work etc., should be framed to cover all workers, regardless of gender.

The core requirement in policy to improve women's status, drawing on the 4MADCs' example is to increase contractual wage employment for women. In non-ADCs in the Asia and Near East regions, in countries where women's labor market participation is low, it will take a very long time to secure major increases in the quantum of employment opportunities in the modern, large scale sector. This applies as much to manufacturing, as discussed, as to services, particularly in the public sector, where the current trend, under the aegis of structural adjustment programs, is to hold down

the rate of increase in employment. It is unnecessary to restrict policy recommendations to the modern sector itself. There may be ways to influence the quality of employment for women in the unorganized sector. For the vast majority of women in many developing countries, employment opportunities are limited to this kind of work - which is often actively preferred because of flexible time working patterns and lesser incompatibility with household task than more formalized kinds of employment. As Mitter (1991) suggests, there are ways of supporting women towards this objective. In Japan and India, community or neighborhood groups, mainly but not only comprising women, have proven effective in different ways in empowering women to improve employment conditions in small workshops. Moreover, they can be more appropriate and effective than conventional labor organizations, traditionally male dominated, in helping women bring pressure to bear for improvements in wages, working conditions and facilities in the formal sector as well. These organizations can also be developed as a channel for delivery or productivity and status enhancing services, such as work and life skills. In some cases (e.g. the Self Employed Women's Association in Ahmedabad, India) they have expanded their scope further and set up mechanisms for deposit taking and credit, to improve productivity in small enterprises. The traditional dichotomy between the organized and unorganized sectors may be breaking down as factories increasingly adopt "just in time" production organization methods which rely heavily on subcontracting small workshops for many production inputs. Japanese and Italian industrial development and success in exporting has included much small workshop production, even though this is not apparent in official statistics. If other developing countries are to emulate their successes, it may be more important than hitherto acknowledged to improve skills and productivity in small enterprises.

Moreover, supporting community and neighborhood organizations for women can promote AID goals in another dimension. They can serve as an element in giving greater representative voice to women within the juridico-bureaucratic sphere. Although this does not immediately imply participation in the institutions of government, it will be a way of encouraging civic activism within a generally quiescent half of the population. Thus it will authentically strengthen the process of political decentralization which must underlie moves towards democratic pluralism.

6.4 Social Policy for Fertility Decline

In those cases where fertility remains high, the difficulty of bringing about further declines in fertility in high income countries of Asia and the Near East should not be underestimated. Cain (1988) notes that no countries in the "strongly patriarchal regime" category have yet achieved fertility decline approaching the levels of OECD countries or the 4MADCs. In such societies, fertility has proven impossible to bring down beyond the reduction resulting from lower infant mortality rates. In other words, desired family size remains high and is driven by son preference, since sons are still the source of long-term economic security. Reduction in fertility will not, in these settings, readily be achieved through the conventional range of policy instruments, either direct (family planning programs) or indirect (education for girls). The only potential for effective intervention lies elsewhere, specifically in the dimension of improvements in economic autonomy for women.

Another factor predisposing women to high fertility is the perceived risk of children defaulting on supporting their parents in their old age. In Cain's, 1998, view, old age insecurity is the fundamental determinant of women's fertility decisions. The strength of familism in 4MADCs is highly significant here, since it constitutes an anti-default mechanism; it may have been underestimated as a factor in the exceptional rapidity of fertility decline in these cases. Familism can scarcely, however, be imposed on other societies, though ADC governments may wish to look into fiscal and other measures (e.g. housing) to encourage its continuation.

In countries where conventional population policy has proven inadequate and fertility declines are not continuing, action needs to be taken towards providing social security in the broadest sense. The principles and design of social security policy in developing countries are underdeveloped subjects in the literature (but see Dreze and Sen, 1989 and Burgess and Stern, 1989). There is a case for saying that this is inherently a gender issue, since in any society where women have less than full individual economic equality with men and the family is less than completely effective at ensuring adequate intergenerational income transfer, women will predominate among the elderly in need of income transfers at the national level (more so as women's life expectancy exceeds men's). A few tentative proposals for discussion are offered here.

Social security programs can contribute not only to the reduction of fertility but also to women's economic independence and, not least, to the promotion of income equality among men and women in their old age. To further these objectives, policies need to be developed along the following lines: (1) inclusion of part time and casual workers in employee contributory schemes; (2) expand direct employment programs, including public worker schemes; (3) expanded access to credit for low income women; and (4) employment opportunities or changes in the legal status of women which will lead to a more equitable intra-household distribution of income between men and women.

Such social security schemes as exist presently in developing countries are geared towards contributory schemes for persons in formal employment. They should be expanded specifically to include as many women as possible, by coverage of part-time and casual workers (of whom most are women). The difficulty of implementing schemes of this kind outside the formal sector is yet another reason to promote increases in the share of modern sector wage employment in total female employment.

The feasibility of introducing wider schemes of social support targeted specifically at older women should be investigated. The Sadat pension scheme for widows in Egypt, discussed earlier, provided subsistence level support initially, though the real value of the scheme has unfortunately deteriorated over time. It has not met any particular administrative or other difficulties in implementation. Such a scheme should be the critical, indeed the primary, element in a basic "safety net" social security provision. However, it would require an extraordinary level of government commitment in any country, and its credibility and influence on women's fertility decisions would take time to be established. If other measures to enhance women's income opportunities are also pursued, particularly their incorporation terms into the formal labour force, the level of resources necessary to fund the scheme will be reduced over time.

In some lower income countries, such as India and Bangladesh, public works and other direct employment schemes have been very successful in delivering income opportunities to women, including elderly women. Therefore, they should also be seen as having a place in social security provision. Although a commitment to these programs may be the most cost effective measure towards this end, and despite the potential importance of direct employment programs to women's concerns and to fertility reduction objectives, there will always be a need for a basic safety net

payment to elderly women too frail to undertake the kind of physical labour usually required in these schemes.

There are two other aspects to old age security for women. The provision of better access to credit for women may also be a significant factor at lower income levels. As numerous small scale credit schemes in Bangladesh, Egypt and elsewhere have demonstrated, access to a small loan can allow a widow to buy a goat, for example, and lift all but the most infirm, elderly person out of destitution (World Bank, 1991). If such women had access to this productive resource in earlier years, they may never have reached the depths of poverty in the first place. More broadly still, the crucial role of intra-household income distribution is once again evident. In societies where distribution is relatively equal, so that even lower income households can generate a surplus (and reliable financial institutions and credible anti-inflation macro-economic policies exist), personal savings can become a major source of old age support. There has been an apparent shift from children to personal savings as the main expected means of old age support in Taiwan (DeVos, 1984). The increasing potential for personal savings needs, however, in economies with either marked income inequality by gender (primarily in terms of earnings from employment) or a weak "familism" ethic - especially, by both, by generalized measures to improve women's income earning capacity.

7. POLICY LESSONS FOR U.S.A.I.D. ACTIVITIES IN MIDDLE INCOME DEVELOPING COUNTRIES.

How are the general policy recommendations in the previous section to be translated into specific interventions within the U.S.A.I.D. portfolio?

The task of formulating recommendations for each country in the Asian and Near East regions is obviously beyond the scope of this paper. This section is limited to drawing lessons from the experience of the 4MADCs for middle income countries (including the 4MADCS themselves) in those regions. Middle income countries are defined as those countries having income per capita (more exactly, purchasing power parity per capita) exceeding ten per cent of the U.S. level (U.S.A.I.D., 1991). That is, they are countries where the problem of basic poverty is overcome, in the main, and where U.S. aid policy criteria overlap with, and thus to some extent may be used to advance, U.S. foreign policy interests. In poorer countries programs aims at a balanced approach to development, with more attention to poverty alleviation.

According to a recent policy guidelines document, the bulk of a U.S.A.I.D. middle income developing country portfolio would consist of program activities that emphasize one or more of the following foreign policy concerns: global economic integration; provision of global public goods and services; democracy; or alleviation of "pockets of poverty" through better mobilization of a country's own resources. The WID strategy lessons from the 4MDCs fall mostly under the first, but relate also to the third and fourth of these concerns. An earlier U.S.A.I.D. emphasis on education and technology as the focus of middle income country programs (PPC paper on Advanced Developing Countries, March 1988) is subsumed under the first concern.

Global economic integration

The central thrust of this paper has been to draw attention to the potential benefits to women of the development of export capacity in industry in developing countries. Expansion of this sector gives women proportionally increased access to modern sector employment opportunities. Expansion of the modern financial sector is also an important source of employment for women in some countries, which may similarly follow integration with world financial markets. In both sectors,

employment conditions tend to be relatively good compared to those in other sectors, in terms of contractual stability, security of income, and non-wage benefits, as well as basic wages. The fertility reducing effect of employment for women has been found by researchers to be most pronounced in such circumstances, depending critically on the "formality" of (and relatively good incomes from) of employment, as exemplified in these sectors. In addition, the financial sector (to a much lesser extent, the manufacturing sector) offers educated women some potential for career progression.

Therefore, a gender analysis adds a particular social justification for promotion of export capacity in developing countries. Gender-related program activities under this heading should have a two fold aim: first, to ensure and if possible enhance women's access to employment in export related sectors. Second, to ensure that employment in these sectors is offered on good terms, not just relative to that for women in other economic sectors, but relative to men in those same sectors.

Discrimination against women remains strong in higher education in the 4MADCs, in contrast to their access to education at lower levels. Over time and with sustained technological upgrading in these economies, and in second tier advanced developing countries, access to expanding employment areas will increasingly depend on high level skills. The recent fall-off in women's share of employment in export industry in Singapore and, according to one analyst (Wood, 1990), also South Korea, is thought to be related to the lack of women with technical skills training needed for newly upgraded industries. It is crucial for gender equity that this situation not be consolidated in the 4MADCs and not allowed to develop in other advanced developing countries. It is also essential for develop of all available national talent that the recruitment pool for such training be as large as possible, i.e. that women be fully eligible. Where women do not come forward for training, this may be a symptom that the income-based incentives to women to participate may not be strong enough, i.e. a negative effect of discriminatory wage policy.

Specific activities for U.S.A.I.D. might then include:

1. Special attention to the representation of women in technical and business training programs relevant to employment in expanding export related industries and services.

2. Special attention in educational programs, especially at tertiary level, locally or for take up in the

U.S., for inclusion of women among the beneficiaries.

3. Pilot programs to train women into new, technologically advanced occupations, which follow through into active placement of graduates with employers. The emergence of new occupations is a strategic window of opportunity for women, if they can enter these new job sectors before they become identified as a male preserve.

4. Encouragement to governments in policy dialogue to monitoring and improvement of women's employment in export sectors, with the objective of improving women's access and removing gender discrimination in wage and non-wage employment benefits and in promotion opportunities based on regulatory asymmetries (e.g. in child allowances, leave provisions).

5. Encouragement to U.S. companies operating in advanced developing countries to acknowledge the major part women play in economic production in those countries, and to pay as much attention to the promotion of women's opportunities in their own businesses as they are required to do back in the U.S..

Democracy

Gender analysis amplifies the meaning of the term "democracy" beyond its narrow sense of the procedural rules of a political system. If the term is defined to refer to individuals' civic autonomy and political voice, then it becomes apparent that there is a place for gender focussed interventions in this area. Women have less civic autonomy than men, as analysis of the economic foundations of women's lives makes plain. Women's realized title to property and rights in employment are inferior to those to which men claim entitlement. This underlying material asymmetry predisposes women to continue to seek a secondary, dependent place within the family and dampens their willingness to stand up politically for themselves.

Suggestions in the area of legal reform were made in another contribution to the conference (Freedman, 1991). The recommendations for program activities under the global economic integration head above, aimed at ensuring women's access to modern employment opportunities, are also relevant under this head. Here the emphasis may lie more in the area of investigating and acting

against gender inequality.

1. Research is called for into the extent and the determinants of wage discrimination by sex in advanced developing countries. There is relatively little information on the degree of occupational segregation by sex in these economies, of the dynamics of wage discrimination (in aggregate or at the micro level inside firms), and of the menu of effective policies and interventions available to counteract it. Comparisons with what is known from other developing countries and developed countries would be fruitful.

2. U.S.A.I.D. should support local women's organizations that include in their programs efforts to improve women's conditions of employment. Such organizations should be encouraged to enter directly into discussion with local employers and also to lobby politically for policy and legislative changes. In discussions with employers, they can be a less confrontational alternative to labor organizations. They may also be more effective in improving the conditions of women's lives in their totality, insofar as they can widen the issues to include amenities such as childcare and flexible working schedules which are not usually taken on board by traditional labor representatives. In their lobbying function they are indispensable to progress on the legislative front.

Given the traditional neglect of Women's issues within labor organizations, and the tendency of official women's organizations to appease rather than advance women's long-term interests, the promotion of local women's groups is a legitimate contribution to widening and deepening of civic debate.

3. Another area of public action where U.S.A.I.D. programs may make a useful contribution is in the promotion of the idea of accountability in public social services. Provision of many social services in the health, education and social security fields is of special concern to women. Yet it is not common to conceive of women as the consumer constituency for these services (as opposed to passive recipients of services provided exclusively for them, e.g. MCH programs). There is a great deal of scope for, first, screening all public social sector services for their impact on and utility for women; and also for developing ways of exposing public service officials to accountability to women as users. The promotion of local women's groups, as above, would be instrumental in this connection.

Poverty

This paper has pointed to one benign (and public expenditure-efficient) feature of the 4MADCs societies as regards the treatment of women. This is the customary practice of sheltering the elderly within the family, evident from household surveys which show a very low proportion of elderly women living alone compared to some other societies. It seems likely to provide relatively good old age security for women. Although this form of social organization cannot be introduced into other societies by public action, there are important public policy lessons to be learned. It is a matter, obviously, of equity; but it has other ramifications, notably as one of the contributing factors to the intensity of the demographic transition in these countries. The future significance of this form of social organization is also clear. If middle income economies continue to develop technologically as rapidly as they have in the recent past, and the structure of employment opportunities evolves accordingly, the individual income earning prospects of older women, the least educated group in the population, will deteriorate further.

The demographic situation of the 4MADCs is also distinctive for the low (but not negligible) proportion of female headed households in the population. One downside of improvements in women's income earning capacity, if experience in North America and Europe is any guide, may be the emergence of much larger numbers of female headed households in the population. A major consequence would be the polarization of children's economic prospects, between those financially supported by both parents and those dependent for part at least of their childhood on a sole parent's (usually the mother's) earnings. This is a deeply inequitable pattern which penalizes many children unjustifiably, not to speak of their mothers.

1. U.S.A.I.D. programs should introduce onto the policy dialogue agenda special attention to the justification for and formulation of a gender aware system of old age security provision. The high budgetary cost of pension schemes is brought into better perspective when the fertility reducing impact of such schemes and (in the 4MADCs) the social costs of alternative forms of shelter for the elderly are properly taken into account.

2. In this connection, the prospects for income earning among women towards the end of their working lives should be monitored. Changes in economic policy affecting agriculture, the sector

where remaining employment for older women is presently concentrated, should be checked for their effect on labor use. Regulatory changes may helpfully be introduced, for example, encouraging part time working, which would open up opportunities for older workers on reasonable terms in unskilled jobs in the service sector, including the public social services.

3. In the 4MADCs and other advanced developing countries with similar social systems, there is a strong case for monitoring the situation of older cohorts of women, specifically by checking that "familism" continues to provide as good a mechanism of inter-generational transfer of income as it has in the past. Modifications might be made to the fiscal system to reinforce incentives for younger people to continue to shelter elderly relatives.

4. With regard to female headed households, there is a real need for social supports (childcare, etc.) to ensure that sole mothers' earnings and career progression are not impeded by the particularly severe mobility and time constraints imposed on them by the task of caring for children. Modifications in the fiscal system may be necessary to ensure that there is no gender bias against women in the granting of tax exemptions for dependents. Integrated systems of public collection of statutory child support payments from men are being developed in some countries, e.g. Australia, and these might also have a place. Finally, the case for developing a "child income" element in the social security system should be explored, with payments made normally to the mother. All these various aspects would be far developed introduced at an early, preventive stage in advanced developing countries, to cope with present pockets of poverty and to ensure that they do not grow unmanageably in the future.

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